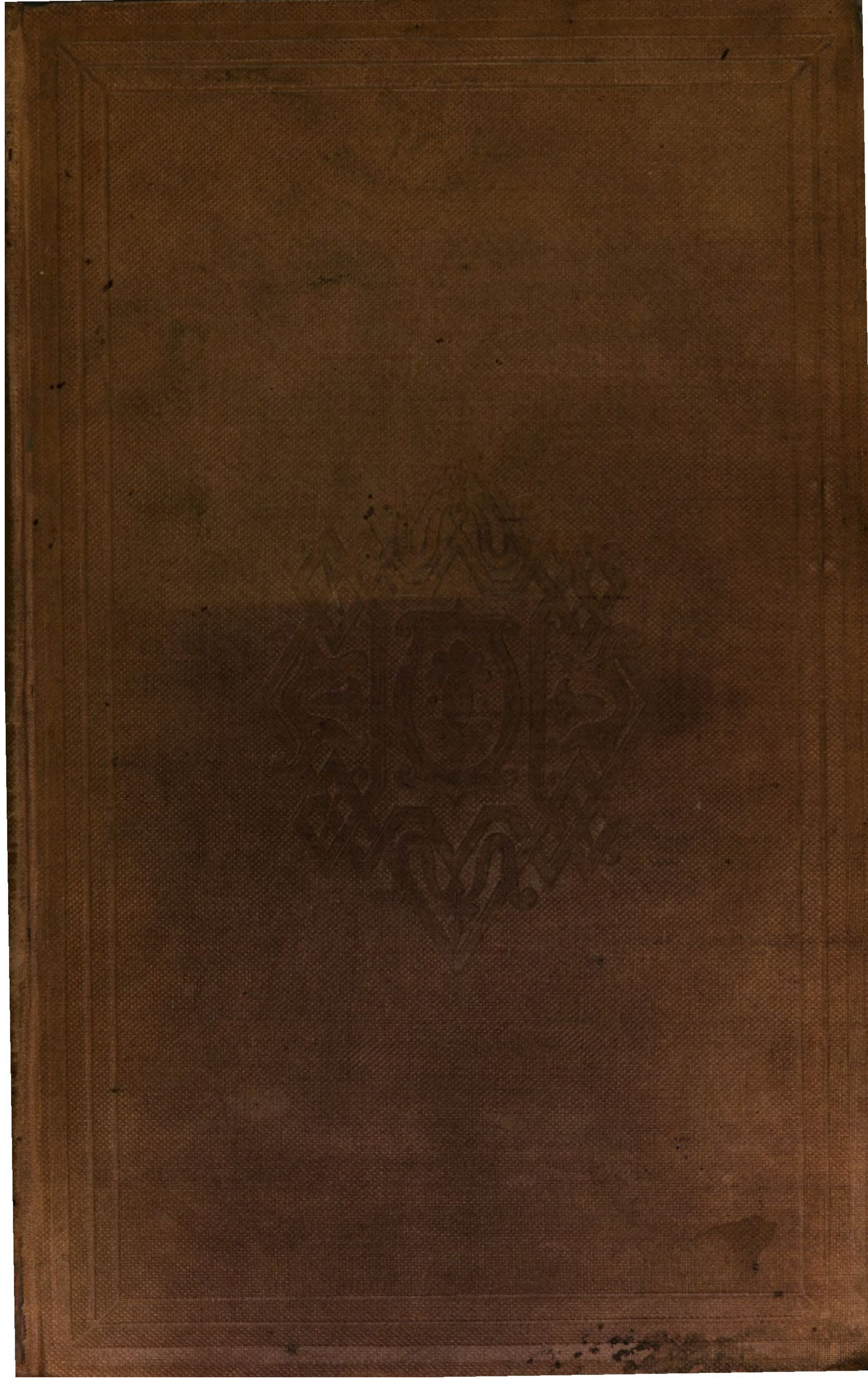




THE
HISTORY OF LITERATURE;

OR,

THE PROGRESS OF LANGUAGE, WRITING, AND LETTERS,
FROM THE EARLIEST AGES OF ANTIQUITY, TO THE
PRESENT TIME; WITH A VIEW OF THE STATE
OF SCIENCE, AND THE FINE ARTS.

Μωμησεται τις μαλλον η μιμησεται.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

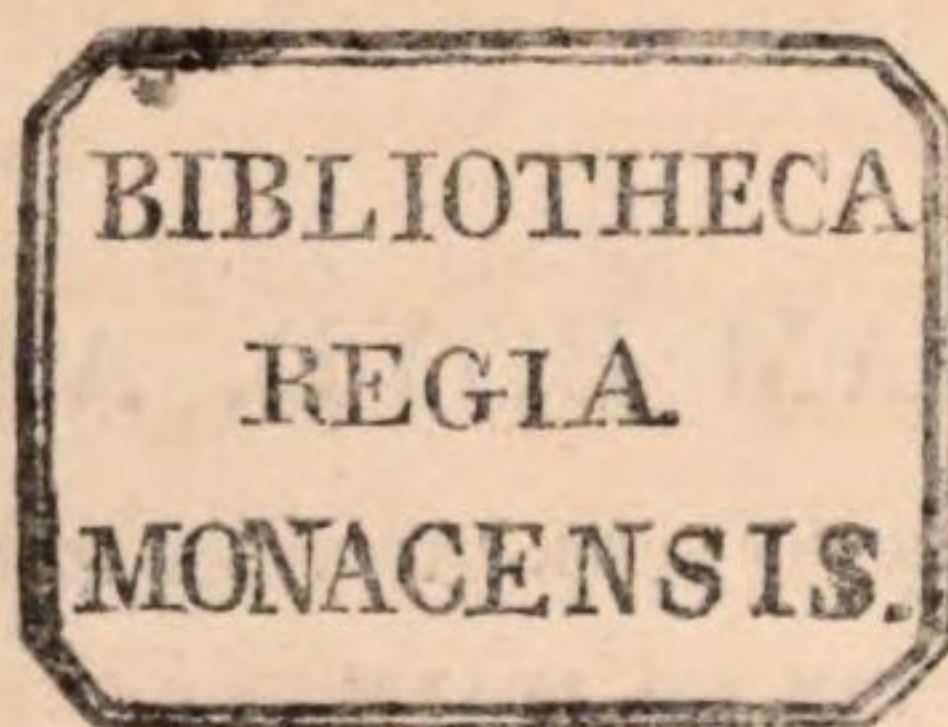
By SIR WILLIAM BOYD, A.M.—M.D.

AUTHOR OF THE EPITOME OF THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE,
THE GUIDE TO ITALY, &c.

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PREFATORY OBSERVATIONS.

IN presenting the Second Volume of his HISTORY OF LITERATURE to the Public, the Author has to express his feelings of deep and respectful gratitude, that his Subscription List should be honoured with the names of the most illustrious Sovereigns of Europe, their Ambassadors, and many others of high rank and intelligence; such patronage will have the effect of cheering him in the prosecution of his laborious and arduous task. He has also felt much gratified by finding his efforts appreciated at the Universities; as the pleasing communication has reached him, that from the study of his First Volume, and the knowledge it affords of Greek literature, Degrees have been obtained with less comparative difficulty.

The elder branch of the author's family, the royal house of Stuart,¹ unhappy and unfortunate in many respects, was

¹ At the desire of an illustrious party, the author will here give a very brief outline of the connection between the royal house of Stuart and his family.—Walter, the son of Alan, was raised to the hereditary dignity of Lord High Steward of Scotland, in the year 1158, by Malcolm IV. His direct descendant, Walter, also High Steward, married, in the year 1315, Marjory, the only daughter of King Robert Bruce, by whom he had one son, Robert, born 2nd March, 1316, and who, on the decease of his uncle, David Bruce, ascended the throne of Scotland as Robert II, being crowned at Scone on the 27th March, 1371; Walter thus became the ancestor of the Scottish kings. The younger brother of Walter, and also the son of Alan, was named Simon; in the year 1160, as witness to a charter to the monastery of Paisley, he is therein styled, “Frater Walteri filii Alani dapiferi.” (High Steward.)

remarkable from the circumstance, that its members were all celebrated for a love of literature, and the fine arts; a taste which has not degenerated in those of the younger branch. If the author have one wish greater than another, it is, that those who have honoured him as Subscribers should study these Volumes, and omit no opportunity of elevating their minds in the calm moments of study and reflection, by holding converse with the illustrious dead; and he hopes, that they may find, as he has done, an alleviation to every care and anxiety. What, although the bowl of poison, the dagger of the assassin, and the sword of the executioner, were employed to cut off many of the eminent men whose

He had a son named Robert, mentioned as nephew to Walter, son of Alan, and witness, in 1205, to a contract between Bryce de Eglintoun, and the town of Irvine; he is therein designated, "Dominus Robertus Boyd."

The great branches of the Royal family of Scotland, were, firstly, the Stewart, who took the surname from the office of High Steward, or, as it is pronounced in Scotland, Stewart; Mary, Queen of Scots, being educated in France, and married to the Dauphin, following the idiom of the French language, the *æ* being unknown, adopted the *u*, and altered the spelling of her name to Stuart, as at present. There is extant, however, a letter from her natural brother, the Earl of Murray, then Regent of Scotland, dated at Edinburgh, 22nd of August, 1560, to the Lairds of Airtully and Kinvaid, authorising them to destroy all images and relics of the Roman Catholic Religion in the Cathedral of Dunkeld, signed, 'James Stewart.' Secondly, the Boyd, who assumed that surname from the Celtic word Boidh, signifying 'the fair,' in allusion to the complexion, and hair; it has a somewhat similar meaning to the word *bawn* in Irish. The author's family have carefully preserved and carried, as the descendants, the arms born by Walter and Simon, a shield azure, a fess cheque, argent and gules. Thirdly, the Monteith, who carried argent, a bend cheque, sable. Robert II., son of Walter by Marjory Bruce, when he ascended the throne, laid aside the fess cheque, and substituted the imperial ensign of the kingdom of Scotland.

history is here recorded; their glory, nevertheless, has burst the barriers of the tomb, to shine in undiminished brilliancy, till the stream of time be lost in the vast ocean of eternity.

The plan of this Work was long a subject of careful consideration; the author resolved to abide by the order of time, to commence with language and writing, then to proceed to the oriental nations, afterwards to the Greek and Roman literature, to treat each part separately, and to unite them under one whole as the HISTORY OF LITERATURE; an arrangement which, he doubts not, will be found equally interesting and pleasing, whereby the progress of knowledge may be traced from the earliest ages to the present time.

The letters patent, creating Robert Lord Boyd, of Kilmarnock, (the direct descendant of Simon,) Regent of Scotland during the minority of James III, bear date 25th October, 1466; his eldest son, Thomas Boyd, created Earl of Arran, married the Princess Mary, the king's eldest sister. In the unhappy attempt of Prince Charles Stuart to recover the throne of his ancestors, in 1745, William Boyd, fourth Earl of Kilmarnock, joined him, and was appointed Colonel of his guards. At the unfortunate termination of the affair by the battle of Culloden, his Lordship was taken prisoner, and beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 18th August, 1746. After his attainder, Lord James Boyd, the eldest son, in 1758, succeeded his grand-aunt, Lady Mary Hay, Countess of Erroll, in her own right, by which he became Earl of Erroll, and hereditary Lord High Constable of Scotland, also assuming the surname of Hay, with the arms of that family. The author's father was a great-grandson of William, ninth Lord Boyd, and first Earl of Kilmarnock, who died in March, 1692; and his Majesty, George the Fourth, well aware of the connexion, and distinguished for the respect and kindness which he exhibited towards the Stuart family, was, in consequence, graciously pleased to direct the name of the author's mother to be placed on the Scotch civil list, for a pension of one hundred pounds per annum, which was done accordingly, and enjoyed by her till her decease.

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ERRATA.

Page 71, line 19, for "Purdhoe," read "*Prudhoe.*"
 77, line 28, for "Napes," read "*Naples.*"
 239, line 28, for "Publius," read "*Publilius.*"
 320, line 4, for "government," read "*governments.*"
 Pages 413 to 416, in head line, for "Lucretius," read "*Catullus.*"

CHAPTER I.

ON FABLE WRITING;

ITS USES, AND THE TALENTS REQUIRED IN ITS COMPOSITION,
ÆSOP—STATE OF THE SCIENCES IN ANCIENT GREECE—
CHEMISTRY — MEDICINE, HIPPOCRATES — GEOMETRY,
EUCLID.

THE nature or essence of a fable, is to convey some useful truth beneath the shadow of an allegory, and it was under its veil that the ancients imparted many important and beautiful maxims of moral philosophy. It is this indirect although forcible mode of instruction, which chiefly distinguishes a fable from a tale, and gives to the former a pre-eminence over the latter. The principal reason why fable has been so much esteemed in all ages and in all countries, is probably owing to the inoffensive manner in which its lessons are conveyed; the circumstance of giving instruction commonly supposes a superiority of wisdom in the instructor, frequently unfavourable to the reception of advice. It is the peculiar excellence of fable to waive this air of superiority; it leaves the reader to collect the moral, who, in discovering more than is shown to him, finds his self-love gratified instead of disgusted. The attention is either taken off from the adviser, or if otherwise, we are still flattered by his humility and address. Information, as imparted through fable, not only lays aside the supercilious aspect of advice, but appears drest in all the graces which can strike the imagination. It pleases in order to convince, and it inculcates its moral the more deeply in proportion as it entertains, leading us to feel our duties at the instant that we comprehend them.

In composing a fable—whether of the more complex kind, as the epic or dramatic, or of the more simple description, like that which is called the *Æsopean*—the principal intention ought to be, the illustration of some moral or prudential maxim. To this point composition in all its parts should be directed, leading to the description of some action proper to enforce the maxim chosen. In several respects, therefore, the greater and the lesser fable will agree; it being the business of both to teach some particular moral, exemplified by an action, enlivened by natural incidents. Both must be supported by apposite and proper characters, and furnished with sentiments and language suitable to the characters thus employed. A perfect fable, even of the simpler kind, is a higher proof of genius than the mere narration of an event: the latter, indeed, requires judgment; the former, however, together with judgment, demands an effort of the imagination. The concluding part of a fable should strictly agree with the foregoing account of it; this ought always to be the writer's aim. It is the simple manner in which the morals of *Æsop* are interwoven with his fables which distinguishes him, and gives him a preference over all other mythologists. His mountain delivered of a mouse, produces the moral of his fable in ridicule of pompous pretenders; and his crow when she drops her cheese, lets fall the strongest admonition against the power of flattery. There is no need of a separate sentence to explain it, and no possibility of impressing it deeper by a load of accumulated reflections. Indeed, a correct fable should render any detached moral unnecessary; *Æsop*, the father of this kind of writing, disclaimed such assistance; it is the true province of fable to give it birth in the mind of the person for whom it is intended; otherwise the precept would be direct, which is contrary to the nature and end of allegory.

The proper action, or allegory of a fable, is dependent

upon three circumstances. It must be clear, that is, it must show obviously what we intend should be understood; it ought not to leave us doubtful what truth the fabulist intended to convey. It must be entire, not composed of separate and independent actions, but should tend in all its circumstances to the completion of a single event; a fable becomes faulty when the several circumstances point different ways, and do not center in one distinct and unambiguous moral. It must be natural, and founded, if not on truth, at least on probability; on that relation which things bear to each other when we have endowed them with the faculties of speech and reason. The natural incidents of a fable may be violated in various ways, when creatures and things are placed in improbable and incompatible situations regarding each other. The incidents of a fable ought always to be few. A fable, however, with a single incident may appear too barren: if *Æsop* and *Phædrus* be sometimes too sparing, *Fontaine* and *La Motte* have fallen into the error of being too profuse; in this a medium may be the best.

Of the persons, characters, and sentiments of fable, the race of animals first present themselves; *Solomon* sends us to the ant to learn the wisdom of industry. But these are not the only actors: the fabulist has an advantage above all other writers, the works both of nature and art being more immediately at his disposal; he enjoys a liberty not allowed to epic or dramatic writers, who are far more limited in the choice of agents to be employed. He has authority to press into his service not only the animal creation, but flowers, shrubs, trees, and all the tribe of vegetables; even mountains, fossils, minerals, and the inanimate works of nature discourse at his command, and act the part which he assigns to them. The virtues and vices receive from him "a habitation and a name." In short, he may personify, and bestow life, speech, action, on whatever he

thinks proper. It is not difficult to imagine what a source of novelty and variety this must open to a genius capable of conceiving and of employing such ideal personages in a proper manner; the difficulty lies, however, and it is a great one, in enjoining them proper tasks, and assigning to them sentiments and language fitted to their several natures and respective properties. The style of fable, in its language, should be simple and familiar, although correct and elegant.

Æsop flourished 575 B. C.

The birth-place of this celebrated writer is uncertain; some authors have believed that he was a Lydian, born in the city of Sardis, the capital of that kingdom; others, that he was a native of the island of Samos: some have maintained that he was a Thracian, of the city of Mesembria: the general opinion however now is, that he was a native of Phrygia in Asia Minor. It appears, that during his slavery, his usual habitation was in the island of Samos, and after he obtained his freedom, he resided almost wholly at the court of Cræsus, king of Lydia. Æsop¹ was a slave from his youth, and in that condition he served several masters; his first was Demarchus, surnamed Caresius, a native and inhabitant of Athens; it was in that city that our fabulist studied the Greek language in its purity, and acquired his knowledge of moral philosophy, which was in his time becoming a fashionable study, there being but few individuals who made profession of the speculative sciences, as may be illustrated by the conduct of the seven sages of Greece, the most celebrated men of their age, among whom Thales alone had the curiosity to inquire into the secrets of natural philosophy, and into the subtleties of mathematical learning; the others were not reputed

¹ Some writers have imagined the eastern fabulist Lokman to be the same person with Æsop, particularly as the fables of the former much resemble those of the latter.

wise for any other reason than their publishing certain grave and moral sentences, the truth of which they established, and rendered of some authority by their prudent and virtuous lives. Æsop, however, did not follow this method; he wisely considered that the meanness of his birth, and his servile condition, would not permit him to speak with sufficient authority in the way of sentence and precept; he therefore composed fables, which, by a narration pleasing and moral, might rouse the attention even of the most ignorant, and lead them in an agreeable and entertaining manner to discover and appreciate the moral sentiments which he wished to convey. Æsop was not the first inventor of those fables, in which the use of speech is given to the lower animals; the honour of this invention, as Quintilian alleges, being due to the poet Hesiod, who, in his first book of his "Works and Days," relates the fable¹ of the Hawk and the Nightingale;² but Æsop became so superior to every other competitor, that he is looked up to as the father of this style, and all such fables are called Æsopean.

The first master of Æsop was Demarchus, who, after a time sold him to Xanthus, a native of the island of Samos, and the latter disposed of him to Jadmon of the same place, who at length gave the fabulist his liberty, as a reward for his faithful services, and in respect to his excellent abilities. From the most authentic history, it appears, that Æsop was of a very dark complexion, with sparkling eyes; that he had

¹ Jotham's fable of the trees in the sixth chapter of Judges, at the 7th verse, is still more ancient than that of Hesiod.

² Whilst now my fable from the birds I bring,
To the great rulers of the earth I sing :
High in the clouds a mighty bird of prey,
Bore a melodious Nightingale away ;
And to the captive shivering in despair,
Thus cruel spoke the tyrant of the air.

an amiable disposition, and universal talents, with an inclination and aptitude for music. There are no reasonable grounds for the supposition, that he was deformed in his person, or had an impediment in his speech. It is certain that after he obtained his liberty he acquired a high reputation among the Greeks, and was held in almost equal esteem with the seven sages, who flourished in his time. The fame of his wisdom having reached the ears of Cræsus, that monarch sent for him to his court, admitted him to his friendship, and treated him with such munificent generosity, that he continued in his service to the end of his life. Of the fables which pass under his name, only a few of them were actually written by Æsop, and even these have undergone alterations; notwithstanding all changes, however, there is still the same little story in its chief circumstances, the same simplicity in telling it, humorous turn of thought, and in a considerable degree the same words. In short, there is enough of him left to enable us to form a correct judgment of his spirit, genius, and manner of writing, showing him to be a lover of morality, and a perfect master of conveying valuable instruction under the veil of fable.

The chief of the fables written by Æsop, are, "The Frogs petitioning Jupiter for a King," "The Fox and the Swallow," and "The Eagle and the Beetle," the original of which is lost. The first-mentioned fable was delivered by him to the Greeks as he passed through Athens, just after Pisistratus had seized on the sovereign power, and abolished the popular form of government: observing that the Athenians bore his rule very impatiently, and longed to recover their liberty, Æsop related to them the fable of the Frogs, that entreated Jupiter for a king, exhorting them to submit cheerfully to the paternal government of Pisistratus, lest in changing they might fall under the power of some mischievous and cruel tyrant. So conscious was this talented writer that the life of man abounds in misery, and that

one pleasure is generally accompanied by a thousand pains, that he was wont to say, that Prometheus when he took earth to form a man, had tempered and moistened it not with water, but with tears. The second fable, that of the Fox and the Swallow,¹ we are told by Aristotle was spoken by Æsop to the Samians, on a debate upon changing their ministers, who were accused of plundering the commonwealth. It was intended to induce caution, lest by appointing a new set more poor and greedy than those in office, the Samians might be greater losers instead of bettering themselves.

Regarding the manner of his death, it is related, that having been sent by Cræsus to the city of Delphi, with a large sum of gold, in order to offer magnificent sacrifices to Apollo, and to distribute to each citizen four minæ of silver, he became angry and disappointed with the citizens, finding them ignorant and lazy, neglecting the culture of their lands, and depending on the great concourse of strangers, with the frequent sacrifices offered in their temple. Having performed his part of the sacrifices, and reproached the Delphians for their idleness and misconduct, he sent back the remainder of the money to Cræsus, reporting that these people were unworthy to partake of his liberality; which so enraged them, that they brought a false accusation of sacrilege against him, and cast him from the top of the rock Hyampia, the punishment commonly inflicted on sacrilegious persons. He perished about 560 B. C. As they were on the point of throwing him down, he related to them the fable of "The Eagle and the Beetle," in order to deter them from so execrable a deed, by the apprehension of divine justice, which would not suffer such wickedness to pass unpunished; his appeal was useless; retribution however quickly followed, their land became barren, and a pestilence succeeded. In their distress the Delphians consulted

¹ It was in the original an hedgehog.

the oracle, and were answered, that their misery was owing to the unjust condemnation and death of *Æsop*. On this they caused it to be proclaimed by sound of the trumpet, at all the public feasts and general meetings of the Greeks, that if there were any of the kindred of *Æsop* who would demand satisfaction for his death, he was requested to come and claim it of them; but no one was found to do so till the third generation, when a Samian presented himself named *Jadmon*, grandson of that *Jadmon* who had been *Æsop*'s master in the island of *Samos*, and had given him his liberty; the Delphians made him satisfaction. The death of *Æsop* was much regretted in Greece, particularly by the Athenians, who erected in their city a magnificent statue to his memory.

State of the Sciences in Ancient Greece—Chemistry, Medicine, Mathematics, Mechanics, Harmonics, and Astronomy.

Chemistry, as a science, was unknown to the ancients; the term itself, *χημεία*, *chemeia*, first occurs in *Suidas*, a Greek writer, who lived in the eleventh century, and wrote his lexicon during the reign of *Alexius Commenus*;¹ and the first meaning of the word was, "the art of making gold." Notwithstanding the assertions of *Olaus Borrichius*, and other writers who followed him, nothing is more certain than that the ancients have left no chemical writings behind them, and that no evidence exists to prove that this important branch of science was known to them.

¹ *Scaliger* informs us that he perused a Greek manuscript of *Zosimus the Panapolite*, written in the fifth century, and deposited in the King of France's library. *Olaus Borrichius* mentions this manuscript, but in such a manner that it is difficult to know whether he himself had redde it. The title of this manuscript is said to be "A faithful description of the divine art of making gold and silver, by *Zosimus the Panapolite*." It appears, that in the opinion of *Suidas*, this art, or rather supposed art, was known to the Egyptians in the time of *Dioclesian*.

Scientific chemistry took its origin from the collection and comparison of the chemical facts made known by the practice and improvement of those manufactures which can only be conducted by chemical processes. Thus, the smelting of ores, and the reduction of the metals which they contain, is a chemical process; because it requires, for its success, the separation of certain bodies which exist in the ore, chemically combined with the metals; and it cannot be done except by the application or mixture of a new substance, having an affinity for these substances, and capable in consequence of separating them from the metal, and thus reducing the metal to a state of purity. The manufactures of glass, of soap, and of leather, are all chemical, because they consist of processes by means of which bodies having an affinity for each other are made to unite in chemical combinations. As it was alluded to in a former part of this work,¹ that from the contemptible light in which all mechanical employments were viewed by the ancient Greeks and Romans, their artists and manufacturers being chiefly slaves, they failed in obtaining a correct knowledge of the first and simplest rudiments even of mechanical chemistry.

The ancients were acquainted with seven of the metals, viz., gold, silver, mercury, copper, iron, tin, and lead. They knew and employed various preparations of zinc, antimony, and arsenic, although we have no evidence that these latter substances were known to them in a metallic state. The oxides of copper and zinc, the rust of iron, the protoxide and acetate of lead were used in medicine. Cinnabar was used as a rouge, or red paint; and the sulphuret of antimony was employed at a very early period by the Asiatic ladies to make their eyelashes, or rather the inside of their eyelashes, black, and from Asia the custom became known in Greece. Thus, we are told of Jezebel, that when Jehu came to Jezreel, she, in the hope of making a favourable personal

¹ Vol. I. page 64.

impression upon him, painted her face, &c.; the original is, "she put her eyes in sulphuret of antimony." Some of the compounds of arsenic were also known to the ancients; though they were neither acquainted with this substance in the metallic state, nor with its very dangerous oxide.

Two kinds of colours were used by the ancients in painting, the florid, and the austere; for the former were used, cinnabar, yellow ochre, carbonate of copper, the purple dye of the Tyrians, and indigo; for the latter, red ochre, carbonate of lime, yellow sulphuret of arsenic, red lead, red sulphuret of arsenic, lamp-black, ivory ditto, and varieties of iron ochres, carbonates of copper, oxides of manganese, and carbonates of lime. The ancients were acquainted with the manner of colouring glass; and they were aware that vinegar has the property of dissolving pearls, proved by the well-known story of Cleopatra. This magnificent and voluptuous queen boasted to Antony, that she would herself consume a million of *sistertii* at a supper. Antony smiled at the proposal, and doubted the possibility of her performing it; next evening a magnificent entertainment was provided, at which Antony as usual was present, and expressed his opinion that the cost of the feast, magnificent as it was, fell far short of the sum specified by the queen. She requested him to defer computing till the dessert was finished; a vessel of vinegar was placed before her, into which she threw two pearls, the finest in the world, and valued at ten millions of *sistertii*; they were dissolved by the vinegar, and the liquid was immediately drunk by the queen: thus she made good her boast. Supposing the story to be true, it does not appear that Cleopatra had a knowledge of the nature of these beautiful productions: we now know that pearls consist essentially of carbonate of lime, and that the beauty is owing to the thin concentric laminae of which they are composed.

The ancients were acquainted with the processes of dyeing and calico printing, and with different mordants to fix the dye upon the cloth; the nature of these mordants cannot now be discovered, as they do not seem to have been known to Pliny, although it is evident from him they had a knowledge of madder, and that preparations of iron were used in the black dyes. The most celebrated dye of all, the purple, was discovered by the Tyrians about sixteen centuries before the Christian era. Such is a slight sketch of the facts known to the ancients; it doubtless implied a certain quantity of chemical knowledge, which having been handed down to the moderns, served as a foundation upon which the science of chemistry was gradually reared: at the same time, it will be admitted, that this foundation was very slender, and would of itself have led to little accurate knowledge on the subject.

The study of medicine, however imaginative it may have been in the time of Æsculapius, became far more rational under Hippocrates, and was inseparable from surgery and pathology. Although little was known concerning the structure of the human body in his time, still it is impossible not to feel surprise and admiration at the just views and profound meditations of this extraordinary philosopher.

Hippocrates flourished 430 B. C.

This talented individual, who has been correctly styled the father of medicine, was a native of the island of Cos, and born in the first year of the 80th Olympiad 460 B. C. He studied in the first instance under his father Heraclidas; afterwards Herodicus became his master; he was also under the tuition of Gorgias Leontinus, the orator. When qualified for the medical profession, and his studies were finished in the other branches of education, he left his native isle, and travelled through Greece to increase his knowledge. After a time his reputation became so high that his name was known in Persia, and other countries; and Artaxerxes

entreated him to visit his court, making the most magnificent offers; he, however, declined the invitation of the Persian monarch, replying, that he was born to serve his countrymen, and not a foreigner. The good qualities of Hippocrates were many: in his moral deportment he excelled; and so far from being covetous of money, he was remarkable for disinterestedness. His attention and unwearied medical exertions in behalf of the Greeks, particularly during the pestilence which raged in his time, appear to have secured the permanent gratitude and esteem of his countrymen. He was publicly rewarded with a crown of gold; the Athenians admitted him as next to Hercules, of whom he is said to have been a descendant, at the Eleusinian ceremonies; gave him the freedom of their city, and voted a public maintenance for him and his family in the Prytaneum. He taught his art with great candour and liberality to those who applied themselves to it; and was at all times ready to assist them with his instructions and advice.¹ After having lived to a great age, he died at Larissa about the same time with Democritus, nearly an hundred years old. He was buried between Gyrtion and Larissa, in the pleasant valley of Tempe, where his monument was shown for some centuries after the Christian era. He left two sons, Thessalus and Draco, and a great number of disciples, by whom his memory was held in the highest veneration.

To repeat, and to illustrate the dictates of the ancients, was for ages accounted the chief object of philosophical labour; and the investigation of natural phenomena was forgotten or disregarded. Of the more recent achieve-

¹ It is stated, that this physician was requested to visit Democritus, called by some the laughing philosopher, under the supposition that he was mad; Hippocrates did so, but left him with a very different impression, struck with admiration at his able views of life and manners.

ments of science, the emancipation of the human mind from a servile adherence to the opinions of antiquity, is one of the most important; whilst however observation and induction, the instruments of modern research, were accomplishing this victory, the solid facts, and the correct reasoning of every period acquired additional value; and amongst those authors, whose fame the advancement of science has promoted much more than the lapse of time, the name of Hippocrates stands pre-eminent. That this has been the operation of the progress of real knowledge, the remarks of the celebrated Cabanis are an ample testimony, acquainted as he was with all that has hitherto been effected in medicine during its long progress; and though exhibiting a decided preference for its present state, he thus extols the genius and attainments of Hippocrates: "In all those countries where the arts and sciences have been held in esteem, his name has been echoed from mouth to mouth, along with those of the small number of men of original genius, who have been justly regarded as the creators of the human mind. Among the physicians of succeeding ages, those who are most deserving of renown have been the first to proclaim the fame of Hippocrates. Moralists and politicians have borrowed enlarged views and liberal principles from his writings. The philosophers who direct their attention to the processes of the understanding have admired the sure method, and the operations of a mind fully acquainted both with the limits of its powers, the extent of its means, and the happy art of placing himself in a true light for observing the different objects of his researches, for classing the observations according to their natural order, and combining them with general principles; that is, for drawing conclusions which express their relations and connections. The legislator has given the authority of law to his opinions, in all questions with respect to which the physiologist must direct the decision of the magistrate. Men of letters have found in him the model of a

peculiar style, and even of an eloquence, which combines dignity with artless simplicity; a rapid flow, with accuracy of detail; the colouring of a glowing imagination, with the severity of a strong and exact mind, that sacrifices every thing to truth; and lastly, perfect clearness, with admirable conciseness. And even in our time continuing to be studied by physicians, to be consulted by philosophers, and redde¹ by men of taste, he is, and always will be, universally respected, as one of the most distinguished ornaments of antiquity, while his works will be regarded as one of the most valuable monuments of science."

The brief but elegant prediction of Hippocrates in acute disease, constitutes the *facies Hippocratica*, or Hippocratic face, so well known, and in constant appellation in the medical schools of the present day. The most valuable productions of this celebrated author however, are, his Aphorisms, exhibiting as they do the concentrated results of arduous observation and sagacious inference.

The science and literature of which Athens had become the metropolis, were transferred to the other coasts of the Mediterranean, and particularly fostered by the successors of Alexander the Great. The encouragement of the Ptolemies did not produce any poets who are now considered great, but royal patronage was more successfully extended to men of science, and the mathematical school of Alexandria exhibited a succession of talented individuals. The

¹ Foreigners of rank and education have made remarks to the author on the ridiculous impropriety of the alteration in the spelling of the past time and participle of the verb *to read*, formerly spelled *redde*, now *read*, whilst directions are given to pronounce it *redde*. This error was a constant annoyance to the late Lord Byron; the author therefore falls back upon the former method, which is the correct one, of spelling these times of the verb *redde*, as they are actually pronounced.

cloistered walks, public halls, and ample libraries of the Egyptian college, were for nearly a thousand years the resort of the most eminent men of science among the ancients. One of the principal founders of this school was

Euclid who flourished 320 B. C.

This able mathematician collected together the inventions of the older philosophers, added greatly to them, and left to us his fifteen books of elements, a grand work of geometry, which the mathematical world has hardly yet been able to improve, and by which our youth are everywhere instructed in the mathematics. Of his history we know little, his character is described as kind and unassuming, and disposed to encourage merit in others. He seems to have been attracted to Alexandria, by the patronage offered to learned men by the first Ptolemy; and to that monarch, when he expressed dissatisfaction at the prolixity of the reasonings, through which the study required him to proceed, Euclid is reported to have frankly answered, "that there was no royal road to geometry." Independently of his celebrated "Elements," he was the author of works upon almost every branch of the science. He wrote four books on Conics, a treatise on Loci at surfaces, and one on Porisms, a species of geometrical proposition, which after being long involved in obscurity was elucidated by Simson and Playfair. We have his data, and a treatise on divisions. We also possess a work on music by him, in which he is said to have been the person who first demonstrated that the Aristoxenian method of proceeding by tones and half-tones would necessarily give the octaves out of tune. Euclid died 284 years before the Christian era.

CHAPTER II.

THE SCIENCES CONTINUED.

MATHEMATICS, ARCHIMEDES—ASTRONOMY, HIPPARCHUS—
MUSIC, ARISTOXENUS—WITH A VIEW OF THE KNOWLEDGE
ACTUALLY POSSESSED BY THE GREEKS IN MECHANICS,
HYDROSTATICS, OPTICS, HARMONICS, AND ASTRONOMY.

The extraordinary man whose talents and discoveries are now to be described, was incomparably the most inventive and original of the ancient mathematicians. He appears to have had the power of applying his geometry to a greater diversity of subjects, and of overcoming difficulties of a more various kind than any of his predecessors.

Archimedes flourished 240 B.C.

He was born 287 B. C., a little before Hiero's accession to the throne of Syracuse; his youth corresponded with the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, under whom Alexandria, then the principal seat of science, contained the first and ablest mathematicians. To this school he travelled from Syracuse; and among the fellow-students with whom he became acquainted, he frequently in his works mentions Conon,¹ with particular expressions of attachment. It is said to have been for the purpose of raising water out of the canals of Egypt, that Archimedes invented the machine which still bears the name of his screw; and the Arabian historian attributes to his inventive genius the mounts and bridges which are rendered necessary by the inundations of the Nile. The greater part of his life, however, was spent at Syracuse, and his mathematical researches are written in his favourite Doric dialect. In his treatise on the Quadrature of the Parabola, he is the first

¹ Conon resided in Egypt under Ptolemy Evergetes, in honour of whose queen he formed the constellation of Berenice's hair.

geometrician who had been able to determine the exact space bounded by a curved line. Difficult as the problem appears in the manner Archimedes treated it, his only axiom is, that of two unequal spaces the excess of the greater above the less may be multiplied, so as to exceed any given space; and from this he proves by strict reasoning, that a parabola can be neither greater nor less than two-thirds of the parallelogram described about it. His speculations respecting the sphere and cylinder are those with which he appears to have been most delighted, for he wished to have his grave marked by these solids, as more recent mathematicians have had their discoveries engraved on their tombstones. As he had been the first to find the area of a plane curve, he here finds the surface of a curvilinear solid; and determines the sphere to be two-thirds, both in content and in surface of the cylinder which circumscribes it, with other remarkable properties of these solids compared with each other, and with the cone. The subject of spiral lines was also new, so far as we know; in the one which he has examined, he has discovered various properties with respect to its area, tangent, &c. The conoids and spheroids are solids described by the revolution of a conic section about its axis; these he considers, as also the sections which are made in them by planes, the solid content of the parabolic conoid, &c. Besides these works, which are addressed to Dositteus, we have his measurement of the circle, in which he determines the circumference to be 3 and $3 \frac{1}{7}$ th times its diameter. The method which he uses might easily lead to greater accuracy by the assistance of a better form of arithmetic; but the Greek system was less perfect than the Arabic, though much superior to the numeration of other countries. Of the astronomical labours of Archimedes, none have been handed down to us.

The most remarkable part of his discoveries, however, were those which he made in mechanics, and his application

of them to practice; before his time this branch of science did not exist. In his work on "the Equilibrium of Bodies," he gives a proof of the fundamental properties of the lever, which has never been surpassed in simplicity and evidence, and applies his principle to find the centre of gravity of various spaces, with great ingenuity. In his treatise on "the Floating of Bodies in Fluids," he shows a clear insight into the nature of fluid equilibrium, and determines the position in which bodies float in some cases, which cannot be considered as easy even to modern mathematics; indeed, without any addition to the principle of Archimedes, the doctrine of equilibrium was capable of being carried to its utmost extent, although among the ancients it appears to have stopped with him.¹ We read of many mechanical contrivances of Archimedes, some of which were probably attributed to him from the celebrity of his name. He seems to have turned much of his attention to the construction of machines of extraordinary powers, and boasted of the unlimited extent of his art in the well-known expression, "Give me a spot to stand on, and I will move the earth." He employed himself not merely in proving the possibility of making a given force move any weight, however large, he also studied to combine the best material means for carrying it into effect.

It is said, like our own Newton, Archimedes required to

¹ We are told by Pappus, that Hero, the mathematician, who flourished 140 B. C., proved in what cases there could be an equilibrium in the five mechanical powers, viz., the lever, the wheel and axle, the polyspast or pulley, the wedge, and the screw; and that he reduced them all to one in principle. But we have little evidence that his proofs were correct, for there is nothing satisfactory in the demonstrations given by authors before the time of Stevinus and Galileo; and an attempt made by Pappus himself to determine the mechanical advantage of the inclined plane is very erroneous.

be reminded of the common duties of eating and drinking by those about him; and while his servants were placing him in the bath, he employed himself in drawing diagrams in the ashes which were spread on the floor, or in the oil with which he was covered. Though the study of mathematics is generally considered dry and repulsive by persons not engaged in it, there seem to be few pursuits which have the power of exciting so strong and engrossing an interest. Another statement regarding Archimedes is that of Hiero's crown. King Hiero sent to a goldsmith a certain weight of gold to be made into a crown; the crown was returned of the proper weight; but it being suspected that some silver had been substituted for a part of the gold, Archimedes was asked to detect the fraud, if any. He sought in vain, for some time, the means of doing so; when one day going into the bath, the rising of the water, as he became immersed in it, suggested the method; and he immediately sprung out, exclaiming, *εὕρηκα, εὕρηκα*, 'I have found it, I have found it.' Vitruvius explains the process by which he is said to have solved the problem: he placed the crown, a wedge of gold, and one of silver, each of equal weight, in a full vessel of water; and in each case, the quantity of water which ran over gave the size of the mass, and by comparing these he found the quantity of silver in the crown. The principles explained in "the equilibrium of bodies in fluids," afford the means of a more accurate and scientific solution.

We now come to the closing events of the life of Archimedes, those connected with the siege of Syracuse, which ended 212 B.C. Hiero II., the friend of Archimedes, had been dead some years; Gelo, his son, and the pupil of the mathematician, died before his father. Hieronymus, the son of Gelo, succeeded to the throne, but not to the popularity of his grandfather; he shortly fell the victim of a conspiracy, and Syracuse became the prey of

contending factions, who soon engaged her in a quarrel with the Romans. Marcellus by sea, and Appius by land, laid siege to the city; and it would, in all probability, have been soon taken, but for the extraordinary resources of mechanical skill which Archimedes produced in its defence. We have an account of them in Polybius, an intelligent and scrupulous historian, born only a few years after his time; he says, that when the Roman fleet appeared sailing towards the city, it was assailed at a distance from the walls by powerful machines, which threw darts and stones; that when it got too near for the range of these, others were used so actively that Marcellus was obliged to approach the city under the protection of night; and that when they drew near, such an artillery of arrows and other missiles was played upon them, that they were unable to make the assault, and suffered great loss. To protect the besiegers from such attacks in their approaches, Marcellus caused to be built upon vessels certain machines in use among the ancients, called sambucæ; but when these came near, there suddenly started above the walls large cranes, carrying stones of immense size, and heavy masses of lead, which were brought over the sambucæ, and then let fall, so as to break through the whole structure and nearly to sink the ships on which they were raised. Large levers were also made to project over the walls, from which iron claws were suspended; by these the vessels were seized by the prows, and hoisted half way out of the sea, and then let fall with such violence as to be sometimes dashed under the water; so that, as Marcellus observed, Archimedes used his ships like buckets. By these contrivances the Roman soldiers suffered so much, that at last the appearance of a rope or a pole above the walls threw them into a panic, for fear of some new instrument of annoyance. There does not seem any reason to dispute these statements, which are confirmed by the universal consent of historians. While modern artillery was unknown, great attention was

given to improve the instruments in use; and the effects produced exceeded in many cases any thing that we should think possible without the application of gunpowder. We have such machines described by Hero, of Alexandria, who lived not many years after Archimedes; and in considering the results ascribed, we must recollect how much smaller the Roman vessels were than ours. Another invention attributed to Archimedes at this siege, is that of the mirrors, with which he is said to have burnt the Roman fleet, and of which relation the authenticity is doubted. The silence of Polybius and Livy on this point, whilst they give us other details of the siege, would lead us to infer, that if Archimedes did execute something of the kind, it was not very important or decisive.

By his ingenuity, however, the siege of Syracuse was protracted for some time; at length the fortune of the Romans prevailed; they discovered a weak place in the fortifications, made an attack when the inhabitants had relaxed their vigilance in the celebration of a feast to Diana, and soon became masters of a part of the city. Marcellus is said to have wept at the approaching ruin of this populous and opulent state, which, old in prosperity, and rich in historical recollections, was now tending to a catastrophe so different from that of its former memorable siege by the Athenians. After some difficulties, and fluctuation of success, the unfortunate town was taken by the Romans, and given up to be plundered by the soldiers. Archimedes, who had so long been its safety, perished in the confusion of the capture. Marcellus had given strict orders to preserve a person of whose genius he had had such extraordinary proofs, but they were disregarded in the licence of war. While the Romans were plundering from house to house, Archimedes, unaffected by the violence which surrounded him, was absorbed in the contemplation of a mathematical diagram; and when a soldier burst into the room, he refused to attend

him till he had finished his demonstration : on which the man, with the carelessness of human life which such scenes produce, killed the venerable philosopher on the spot. According to other accounts, when about to be put to death, the mathematician pleaded, like Lavoisier in modern times, for a short respite to finish the philosophical inquiry on which he was engaged, and was like the French philosopher refused.

Thus perished at the age of 75, one of the most talented mathematical geniuses of any age, or nation. Marcellus was grieved at the fruitlessness of his attempt to save him, and honoured his memory by liberality towards his surviving relations. A sepulchre was built for him on which was placed, agreeably to his desire, a sphere and cylinder. Neither his mathematical fame however, nor his defence of Syracuse, kept him long in the memory of his thoughtless countrymen ; for when Cicero travelling in Sicily, less than 140 years afterwards, inquired for his tomb, he was told that nothing of the kind existed. " I recollected," says Cicero, " some verses which I had understood to be inscribed on his monument, which indicated that on the top of it there was a sphere and a cylinder. On looking over the burying-ground (for at the gate of the city the tombs are very numerous and crowded) I saw a small pillar just appearing above the brushwood, with a sphere and a cylinder upon it, and immediately told those who were with me, who were the principal persons in Syracuse, that I believed that to be what I was seeking. Workmen were sent in with bills to clear and open the place ; and when it was accessible, we went to the opposite side of the pedestal ; there we found the inscription, with the latter portion of the lines worn away, so that about half of it was gone. And thus one of the most illustrious cities of Greece, and one formerly of the most literary, would have remained ignorant of the monument of a citizen, so distinguished for his talents,

if they had not learned it from a man of a small Samnite village."

As Archimedes, possessing a steady notion of mechanical pressure, was able not only to deduce the properties of the lever, and of the centre of gravity, but also to see the truth of those principles regarding the distribution of pressure in fluids, on which the science of hydrostatics depends ; so Hipparchus, conceiving clearly the motions and combinations of motion, which enter into his theory of Epicycles, saw that the relative length of the seasons were sufficient data for determining the form of the sun's orbit, and of enabling him to construct his solar tables. Both of these illustrious men were eminently gifted with original minds, diligence and care in collecting observations, mathematical precision and steadiness of view, in seeing and in representing them. It is under men with such distinct ideas, that the inductive sciences rise and flourish ; with the decay and loss of such distinct ideas, these sciences become not only stationary, but even retrograde. When men learn merely to repeat the terms of science, without attaching to them any clear conceptions ; when their apprehensions become vague ; when they assent to scientific doctrines as a matter of tradition, rather than of conviction ; when science is considered as a collection of opinions, rather than a record of laws by which the universe is actually governed, it inevitably happens that men lose their hold on the truths which the great discoverers who preceded them have brought to light. This opinion will be amply borne out in the subsequent view of the progress of science.

Hipparchus flourished 140 B. C.

This indefatigable astronomer was a native of Nicœa, in the west of Italy, and is with propriety styled, the great father of scientific astronomy. In the observations made before his time little ingenuity had been required to sug-

gest the views which were adopted. The movements of the sun and stars were naturally and almost irresistibly conceived as the results of motion in a revolving sphere; the indication of positions which we obtain from different places on the earth's surface when clearly combined, obviously exhibit a globular shape. In these cases, the first conjectures the supposition of the simplest form, and regular motion required no after correction. This manifest simplicity however, this obvious explanation, did not apply to the movement of all the heavenly bodies; the planets, "the wandering stars," could not be so easily comprehended; and here Hipparchus, the founder of the theory of Epicycles, and eccentrics, not only supposed that it might, but showed that it must account for the apparent irregular motions of the heavenly bodies, which was the greatest advance in the theory of the celestial motions made by the ancients. It is true, that the doctrine of Epicycles is now acknowledged to be incorrect and perplexed; and some of the greatest men in the more modern history of this science, owe the brightest part of their fame to their having been instrumental in overthrowing this hypothesis; but that which no succeeding discoveries have deprived of its value, is the resolution of the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies into an assemblage of circular motions;¹ and the test of the truth of this resolution is, that it leads to the construction of theoretical tables of the motions of the luminaries, by which their places are given at any time, agreeing with their places as actually observed. The fundamental principle of the whole process is, the assumption that these circular motions are all exactly uniform: this it may be said is incor-

¹ The actual motion of the earth round the sun, and therefore the apparent annual motion of the sun, is performed not in a circle of which the earth is the centre, but in an ellipse or oval; the earth being nearer to one than to the other, and the motion is most rapid when the sun is at the nearer end of this ellipse.

rect, but some assumption is necessary in order that we may have any theory of the motions, and none more simple than the one now mentioned can be selected: and, as a system of calculation, that of Hipparchus is not only good, but in many cases no better has yet been discovered. We are now aware that the real motions of the heavenly bodies are simpler than the supposed motions; but this real arrangement never would have been detected, if the apparent motions had not been carefully examined and successfully analyzed. The value of the theory of Epicycles consists in this circumstance, that it served to embody the most exact knowledge then extant—to direct astronomers to the proper methods of making it more exact and complete—to point out new objects of attention and research, whilst it was also able to take in and preserve the new results of the active and persevering labours of a long series of Greek, Latin, Arabian, and modern European astronomers, till a new theory arose which could better discharge the office. The author of the next great step in astronomical knowledge, Copernicus, adopted the theory of Epicycles in the above view. He says, “We must confess that the celestial motions are circular, or compounded of several circles, since their inequalities observe a fixed law, and recur in value at certain intervals, which could not be except they were circular, for a circle alone can make that which has been recur again.”

Following up the above-mentioned hypothesis of eccentrics, Hipparchus proceeded to construct solar tables, by means of which the sun's place with respect to the stars could be correctly found at any time. He also constructed lunar tables, and determined with much greater accuracy than any preceding astronomer, the mean or supposed equable motions of the moon in longitude and in latitude; and he then represented the anomaly of the motion in longitude by means of an eccentric, as he had done for the

sun. Hipparchus determined, with great exactness, the mean motions of the planets, although unable from want of data to explain the planetary irregularities by means of eccentrics; and Ptolemy asserts, with reason, that he showed his usual love of truth, and proper sense of the responsibility of his task in leaving this part of it to future ages. It might be supposed, that the calculations exhibited in the solar tables, the motions of the sun for an indefinite future period, would depend upon a considerable number of observations made at all seasons of the year. Such, however, was not the case; and the genius of Hipparchus appeared in his perceiving how small a number of facts perfectly understood, and rightly considered, were sufficient to test the theory—the number of days contained in two seasons of the year sufficed for this purpose. “Having ascertained,” says Ptolemy, “that the time from the vernal equinox to the summer tropic is $94\frac{1}{2}$ days, and the time from the summer tropic to the autumnal equinox $92\frac{1}{2}$ days.” From these phenomena alone, he demonstrates that the straight line joining the centre of the sun’s eccentric path with the centre of the Zodiac,¹ is nearly the twenty-fourth part of the radius of the eccentric path; and that its apogee precedes the summer solstice by $24\frac{1}{2}$ degrees nearly, the Zodiac containing 360. The exactness of the solar tables founded on these data was manifested, not only by the coincidence of the sun’s calculated place, with such observations as the Greek astronomers of this period were able to make, which were certainly rude, but by its enabling them to calculate solar and lunar eclipses; phenomena which are a precise and severe trial of the accuracy of such tables, inasmuch as a minute change in the apparent place of the sun, or moon, would completely alter the obvious features of the eclipse. Though the tables of this period were not by any means perfect, they bore creditably this trying and

¹ To the spectator’s eye.

constantly recurring test, thus proving the soundness of the theory on which they were constructed. He also invented a map of the heavens, and prepared a catalogue of the fixed stars; it contained 1080, and subsequently served as the bases of that of Ptolemy.

Another discovery of the greatest importance in astronomy, the precession of the equinoxes, was made by Hipparchus. The circumstance here brought into notice was a change of longitude of the fixed stars; and the distinctness with which this astronomer conceived this change of relation in the heavens, is obvious by the question which he examined and decided, that this motion of the heavens takes place about the poles of the ecliptic, and not of the equator. The idea of the nature of the motion, and the evidence of its existence, the two conditions of a discovery, were likewise brought into view; and the magnitude of the facts which Hipparchus was able to reduce to law, may be judged of in some measure, when we recollect that the precession from his time to ours has carried the stars through only one sign of the Zodiac; and that to complete one revolution of the sky by the motion thus discovered, would require a period of 25,000 years. This discovery connected the various aspects of the heavens at the most remote periods of human history; accordingly, the novel and ingenious views which Newton published in his chronology, are founded on the single astronomical fact, the precession of the equinoxes.

There is no philosopher among the ancients, who is so uniformly spoken of with respect and admiration as Hipparchus; Ptolemy, to whom we owe our chief knowledge of him, his own writings being lost, constantly couples his name with epithets of praise; he represents him not only as an excellent and careful observer, but also as a truth and labour-loving person, and one who had shown extraordinary sagacity in every part of science. Pliny, after mentioning him and Thales, bursts forth into one of his strains of

enthusiastic eulogium, "Great men! elevated above the common standard of human nature, by discovering the laws which celestial occurrences obey, and by freeing the wretched mind of man from the fears which eclipses inspired. Hail to you and to your genius, interpreters of heaven, worthy recipients of the laws of the universe, authors of principles which connect gods and men!" And modern writers have also spoken of Hipparchus with the same admiration; even the exact and severe historian of astronomy, Delambre, loses his sarcastic bitterness when he comes to this great man; he says, "In Hipparchus we find one of the most extraordinary men of antiquity, and the greatest in the sciences, which require a combination of observation with geometry."

Music.—It does not appear from history that the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, or any ancient people who cultivated, or rather attempted to cultivate the sciences, except the Greeks and Romans, had musical characters, and even these had no other symbols of sound than the letters of their alphabet; which likewise served them for arithmetical numbers and chronological dates. From the time of Pythagoras, music had become a mathematical science in Greece; and although the story of the inferences which that philosopher drew from the notes struck by the hammers on a blacksmith's anvil, if not entirely a philosophical fable, is undoubtedly inaccurate; the experiment of the strings is correct, and to this day the ground-work of the theory of musical concords and discords.

Aristoxenus flourished 320 B. C.

He was a celebrated musician, a disciple of Aristotle; and his elements of harmonics are the most ancient works on music which have come down to us. The Greeks entered into a variety of speculations, neither of a satisfactory nor a correct nature; Pythagoras made the simplicity of arithmetical relations regulate as it were the musical ones,

while Aristoxenus appealed more to experiment and the ear; he placed the notes at equal intervals in his scale, and endeavoured to make their defects compensate each other. The Greek scale extended to two octaves, and was called *systema perfectum, maximum, immutatum*, "the great, the perfect, the immutable system;" because its extremities formed a perfect consonance, including the simple, double, direct, and inverted concords, with all the particular systems: and it was the opinion of the ancients, that this double octave was the greatest interval which could be received in melody. Their whole system was composed of five tetrachords, or different series of four¹ sounds, and one note added to the bottom of the scale to complete the double octave; the string which produced this sound was called *proslambanomenos*, or note subjoined to the scale; for though this was constantly the lowest sound in all the modes, it was not in the tetrachords. All these sounds had different denominations in the system like our gamut, *A re, B mi, C fa, &c.* That the fourth was a favourite and important interval in the music of the ancients is plain, from the great system of two octaves having been composed of five of these tetrachords, in the same manner as the scale of Guido is of different hexachords, and as an octave does for eight sounds in the modern practice.

It appears that there were two kinds of enharmonic melodies in use among the Greeks, in the most ancient of which, the *diesis*, or quarter-tone, is not to be found. The old enharmonic, according to Dr. Burney, resembled the Scotch scale; and to the new enharmonic, which had the quarter-tones, we have nothing exactly corresponding. The measures were, the soft Lydian, the grave Dorian, and the fu-

¹ The Pythagoreans invested particular numbers with extraordinary attributes, and applied them by forced analogies; the number four to which they gave the name of Tetractys, was considered the most perfect of all.

rious Phrygian. The instruments were few and simple; the flute, the lyre, and the trumpet were the chief. Vocal music, however, was much attended to. It must be admitted, that we have but little exact knowledge of the state of music among the ancients; nevertheless, thus far seems certain, that the music of the Greeks, although far in advance of that of the oriental nations, was confined to melody, or the pleasing succession of sounds; and that it was left for modern times to produce what we now call harmony, that effect of simultaneous sounds, which affords so exquisite and refined a sense of pleasure.

The author will close this chapter by endeavouring to point out the causes which prevented the ancient Greeks advancing further in the sciences; and to show what knowledge they actually possessed in Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Optics, Harmonics, and Astronomy.

At an early period of history there appeared in men a propensity to speculative inquiries regarding the various parts and properties of the material world. That which they saw induced them to meditate, to conjecture, and to reason; they tried to account for natural events, to trace their causes, and to reduce them to principles. This turn of mind, in its most active and talented form, appears to have been first unfolded among the Greeks; and during that obscure introductory interval, while the speculative tendencies of men were scarcely disentangled from the practical, those who were most eminent in such inquiries became distinguished by the same term of praise which is applied to sagacity in matters of action, and were called wise men; when it came, however, to be felt by such parties, that their endeavours were suggested by the love of knowledge, a motive different from those which led to the prudence of active life, a name was adopted of a more appropriate, as well as of a more modest signification, and they were then called philosophers, or lovers of wisdom.

The early philosophers of Greece entered on the career of physical speculation, in a manner which showed the vigour and confidence of the questioning spirit, untamed by labours and reverses; and it is highly instructive to trace the principles of this undertaking: the course pursued was a natural and tempting one; the effort was made by a people unequalled in the history of the world, in fine mental endowments;¹ notwithstanding which, it must be confessed, that so far as physical science is concerned, the attempt was a failure. Of this no stronger proof need be desired than that the Aristotelian physical treatises left the human mind stationary on such subjects for nearly two thousand years. We must not, however, fall into the error of thinking lightly of these early speculators; they were men of extraordinary acuteness, invention, and range of thought; above all, they had the merit of first unfolding the speculative faculty, of starting in that keen pursuit of knowledge by which the subsequent culture and improvement of our intellectual stores have been occasioned. The sages of early Greece form the heroic age of science; they were the first who boldly ventured into unknown regions; and although they failed in their enterprise, whilst urged on by the loftiest hopes of success, nevertheless they opened a path to thousands of adventurers, who in succeeding ages added a vast accession to the mental treasures of our race.

¹ Professor Whewell, in his valuable history of the inductive sciences, says, "The Grecian mind felt a craving to discover the reason of things which other nations did not feel. The Egyptians, it appears, had no theory, and felt the want of none; the philosophy of the Greeks was the native growth of the Greek mind, and owed nothing to the supposed lore of Egypt and the East; so far as our survey goes, physical philosophy has its original, apparently spontaneous and independent, in the active and acute intellect of Greece." This opinion is contrary to the general one; at the same time coming from such high authority as Professor Whewell, it is entitled to great respect.

To the formation of science two things are necessary, facts and ideas; observations of things without, and an effort of thought within; or, in other words, sense and reason. Neither the one nor the other of these, by itself, can constitute substantial knowledge. We have abundant proof that the mere activity of thought is not sufficient to produce real knowledge; nearly the whole career of the Greek schools of philosophy, of the schoolmen of Europe in the middle ages, of the Arabian and Indian philosophers, shows us, that there may be great ingenuity and subtlety, invention and connexion, demonstration and method, yet out of these no physical science will be developed. We may obtain by such means logic and metaphysics, even geometry and algebra; but we shall never form mechanics and optics, chemistry and physiology. On the other hand, how rapid and prosperous may be their progress, with a constant and careful reference to observation and experiment, the history of these branches of knowledge during the last three hundred years abundantly testifies.

It has often been asserted, that the Greeks disregarded experience, and spun their philosophy out of their own thoughts alone, which is supposed by many to have been their essential error; but this is true only to a certain extent. A little reflection will convince us, that the physical sciences of our own times, (for example, mechanics and hydrostatics,) are founded almost entirely upon facts with which the ancients were as familiar as we are. It has already been mentioned, that there are two things requisite to science, facts and ideas; the fatal defect of the Greek philosophical schools was, that though they had in their possession facts and ideas, the ideas were neither distinct nor appropriate to the facts. Aristotle, who knew the property of the lever, and many other mechanical truths, was unable to form them into a science of mechanics, as Archimedes afterwards did; because, instead of considering

rest and motion directly and distinctly, with reference to the idea of cause, that is, force, he wandered in search of reasons among other ideas and notions, which could not be brought into steady connection with the facts; such as the ideas of properties of circles, of proportions of velocities, the notions of strange and common, of natural and unnatural; and the errors of those who failed similarly, in other instances, were of the same description. From such methods and forms of philosophizing, no discovery of general laws, no explanation of general phenomena, rewarded the acuteness and boldness of these early students of nature. Astronomy, which made considerable progress during the existence of the sects of Greek philosophers, gained something by the authority with which Plato taught the supremacy and universality of mathematical rule and order; the truths of Harmonics, which probably gave rise to the Pythagorean passion for numbers, were cultivated with care by that school. Beyond these impulses, the sciences owed nothing to the philosophical sects, and the vast and complex accumulations of the Stagirite did not lead to the knowledge of any physical truths.

The Greek philosophers, instead of combining clear ideas with distinct facts, employed themselves in reasoning from their opinions alone; they arranged, and classified, and analyzed their thoughts, so as to make their reasonings satisfy the requisitions of our rational faculties. This process of drawing conclusions from principles by rigorous and unimpeachable trains of demonstration, is termed deduction; in its proper place it is a very important part of every science, but it has no value when the fundamental principles on which the whole of the demonstration rests have not first been obtained by the induction of facts, so as to supply the sole materials of substantial truth; without such, a series of demonstrations resembles physical science only as a shadow resembles a real object. In the words

of one of the most talented authors of modern days,¹ "Induction must provide what deduction cannot supply." Between scientific ideas and common notions there is considerable difference; the former are precise and stable, the latter are vague and ambiguous; the former being possessed with clear insight, and employed in a sense rigorously limited; the latter, growing up in the mind from numerous, diverse, and obscure suggestions, which obscurity hangs about all their applications. The Greek philosophers were aware of this defect, and rectified it by the introduction of technical terms; still their philosophy, being constructed on notions obscure and unsubstantial, having no self-correcting principle, and not arrested in its career by the want of correspondence between its doctrines and the actual train of physical events, did long subsist in a state of error to occupy men's minds; such a philosophy depends for its permanence on the pleasure which men take in tracing the operations of their own and other men's minds, and in reducing them to logical consistency and systematical arrangement. In these cases, the subjects of attention are not external objects, but speculations previously delivered. The opinions of the master are the facts which the disciples endeavour to reduce to unity, or to follow into consequences. A series of speculators, who pursue such a course, may correctly be termed a school, and their philosophy a school of philosophy; although physical truths be overlaid by the predominance of trifling and barren suppositions, and by the love of subtilizing and commenting upon the works of earlier writers, instead of attempting to interpret the book of nature. The two great periods of school philosophy were, that of the Greeks, at the first waking of science; and that of the middle ages, the period of its noonday slumber.

Mechanics.—This is a science which did not exist till

¹ Professor Whewell.

after the time of Aristotle, for Archimedes must be considered as the author of the first sound knowledge on the subject; even after the correct principle had been pointed out by him, it remained stationary for nearly two thousand years. The great step made by Archimedes in mechanics was, that of establishing upon true grounds the general proposition concerning a straight lever, loaded with two heavy bodies, and resting upon a fulcrum. The proposition is, that two bodies thus circumstanced will balance each other, when the distance of the smaller body from the fulcrum is greater than the distance of the other, in exactly the same proportion in which the weight of the body is less. This is proved by Archimedes in a work still extant; and the proof holds its place in our treatises, as the most simple which can be given. The real principle which forms the foundation of the validity of this reasoning, and is the condition of all experimental knowledge on the subject, is, that when two equal weights are supported on a lever, they act on the fulcrum of the lever with the same effect as if they were together supported immediately on that point; or more generally, that the pressure by which a heavy body is supported continues the same, however we alter the form or position of the body, so long as the magnitude and material continue the same. The leading idea is, that of pressure being conceived as the measurable effect of heavy bodies at rest, apart from all other effects, such as motion, change of figure, &c. Pressure, in any direction, may exist without motion; the causes, however, which produce pressure are capable of producing motion, and are usually seen producing it, as in a pair of scales employed in weighing; and men come to consider pressure as the exception, and motion as the rule; turning away from the case actually before them, that of bodies at rest and balancing each other, passing to another case, which is arbitrarily assumed to represent the first. Aristotle was among the number of those who thus evaded the difficulties of the

problem of the lever, and therefore lost the reward of success. He failed in consequence of seeking his principles in motions loose and inappropriate; such as the circle the weight would describe, the velocity which it would have if it moved; circumstances which are not a part of the fact under consideration.

Hydrostatics.—Having laid the foundation of the statics of solid bodies, Archimedes also solved the chief problem of hydrostatics, or the statics of fluids; namely, the conditions of the floating of bodies. The doctrine of this science, assuming the idea of pressure, which it involves in common with statics, requires also a distinct idea of a fluid as a body whose parts are moveable among each other by the slightest partial pressure, and in which pressure exerted on one part is transferred to the other parts. From this idea of fluidity necessarily follows that multiplication of pressure which constitutes what is called the hydrostatic paradox; and the notion being seen verified in nature, the consequences were also realized as facts. This notion of fluidity is expressed in the postulate, at the head of the treatise of Archimedes “on floating bodies;” and from this principle are deduced the solutions, not only of the simple problems of the science, but of some of considerable intricacy. The most important principle in the advance of statics and hydrostatics, is, the clear apprehension of these two ideas, statical pressure, and hydrostatical pressure; the experimental laws which they serve to express being obvious, viz. that the whole pressure of a body downwards is always the same, and that water and the like are fluids, according to the idea of fluidity. These two ideas lie at the root of all mechanical science, and the firm possession of them is the first requisite on the subject. After having been awakened in the mind of Archimedes, these ideas remained dormant for many centuries, till they were revived in Galileo, and more remarkably in Stevinus. They were not again des-

tined to slumber, and the results have been the formation of two sciences as certain and severe in their demonstration as geometry itself; while they possess a recommendation of a different order, that of exhibiting the impress of the laws of the physical world, and unfolding a portion of the rules according to which the phenomena of nature take place, and must take place till nature herself shall alter. Here the speculations of Aristotle were again in error, from considering light and heavy as opposite qualities residing in things themselves; and by overlooking the effects of surrounding fluids in supporting bodies, the subject was made a mass of incorrect and frivolous assertions, which the utmost ingenuity could neither reconcile with facts, still less deduce from it any additional knowledge.

Optics.—The progress of the ancients in optics was somewhat in proportion to that which they made in statics. As they discovered the correct grounds of the doctrine of equilibrium, without obtaining sound principles concerning motion; so they found out the law of the reflection of light, but had very indistinct ideas regarding refraction. The extent of the knowledge they actually possessed is not difficult to ascertain. They knew that vision is performed by rays, which proceed in straight lines; and that these visual rays are reflected by certain surfaces, such as mirrors, in a manner that the angles which they make with the surface on each side are equal. In the beginning of the “Treatise on Optics” by Euclid, arguments are mentioned by which these points are established. The law of equality of angles of incidence and reflection was not so easy to verify; at the same time, the resemblance of an object, and its image in a plane mirror, such as the surface of still water, which is a consequence of this law, would afford evidence of its correctness. With these true principles many erroneous and indistinct opinions were combined. Euclid and the Platonists maintained, that vision is exercised by rays proceeding

from the eye, not to it; so that when we see objects, we learn their form as a blind man would do by feeling it with his staff. Another odd assumption was, that these visual rays are not close together, but separated, like the fingers when the hand is spread out; the motive for this speculation was an attempt to account for the fact, that in looking for a small object, a needle for instance, we often do not see when it is before us; this, it was imagined, would be impossible, if the rays reached to all points of the surface. The physics of Aristotle contained doctrines even more faulty than the above. His views led him to try to describe the kind of causation by which vision is produced, instead of the laws by which it is exercised; and the attempt consisted, as in other subjects, of indistinct principles and ill-combined facts. His classifications had nothing in them upon which the mind could take a steady hold, nor did they come under the conditions of successful physical speculation.

Harmonics.—The ancients made the science of music an application of arithmetic, as mechanics and optics were of geometry. The philosophers of the Pythagorean school, particularly Lasus of Hermione, and Hippasus of Metapontum, made many experiments upon strings, varying their lengths and the weights which stretched them; also upon vessels filled with water, in a greater or less degree; and thus established the connection of the idea with the fact, which this science, like all others, requires. Their music, as has been already mentioned, was confined to melody, or the pleasing succession of sounds.

The above is a very brief view of the fundamental principles of physical science known to the ancient Greeks, nor did they make any advances beyond them. Archimedes made an important and rapid stride, but it was not progressive; the science of mechanics stopped where he left it; and although many works were written on harmonics and

other subjects, they neither led to the discovery nor development of any new scientific truths.

Astronomy.—This is a science so ancient that it is difficult to ascend to a period when it did not exist. The earliest conceptions of men respecting celestial objects, are formed by familiar processes of thought, which do not appear to have in them any thing scientific. Days, years, months, the sky, the constellations, &c., are ideas which common and uncultivated minds possess; nevertheless these are the elements of astronomy. The notion of a day is obviously and constantly impressed upon man in every condition in which he is placed. The recurrence of light and darkness, of warmth and cold, of noise and silence, of activity and repose, makes the notion of a day necessarily occur. A year is a notion formed in a similar manner, implying the idea of recurring facts, with the faculty of arranging them in time, and of appreciating their recurrence. The notion, however, of a year, though obvious, is, on many accounts less so than that of a day. The repetition of similar circumstances at equal intervals is far less manifest, and the intervals being much longer, an exertion of memory becomes requisite in order that the recurrence may be perceived. Nations generally have marked this portion of time by some word having a reference to the returning circle of the seasons. The Latin *annus* signifies a ring, and the Greek term *ενιαυτος*, means something which returns into itself. To make the term year imply a fixed number of days, it is necessary to know how many days the cycle of the seasons occupies, a degree of knowledge beyond what has been already alluded to; and men cannot reckon as far as any number approaching that of days in a year, without possessing a system of numerical terms, and methods of practical numeration, on which such a system is founded. Among the Greeks the seasons were at first only summer and winter, the latter included the wet and cold portion of the year.

The sun goes through his cycle of positions in the same period that the stars go through a cycle of appearances belonging to them; and it appears that the latter were also carefully observed to determine the exact length of the year. Several of the groups of fixed stars are readily recognised, as exhibiting always the same configuration, and stars particularly bright become more prominently objects of attention. These are observed at particular seasons to appear in the west after sunset; it is remarked, however, that when they do this, they are found nearer and nearer to the sun every successive evening, till they become invisible by his light; it is also observed, that at certain intervals after this, they rise before the dawn of day renders them imperceptible, and afterwards they rise at a longer interval before the sun. The risings and settings of the stars under the above circumstances were, in countries where the sky is usually clear, a great help in marking the various seasons. Thus, the rising of the Pleiades in the evening, was an emblem of the approach of winter; the rising of the waters of the Nile coincided with the heliacal rising of Sirius;¹ even without an artificial division of time, it was not impossible to carry observations of this kind to such a degree of accuracy, as to learn from them the number of days which compose a year, and to fix the season from the appearance of the stars. By such means it is said to have been determined that the year consisted at least of nearly 365 days. We are told by Herodotus that the Egyptians claimed the honour of this discovery; and the priests informed him, that they were the first who divided it into twelve equal parts, or months, consisting of thirty days each, and that they added five days more² at the end of the year, and thus the circle of the seasons came round. It appears,

¹ Called by the Egyptians Sothis.

² Syncellus says, that according to the legend, it was king Aseth who first added the five additional days to 360 for the year, about 1800 B. C.

that the Jews at an early period had a similar method of reckoning time; for the deluge, which is stated to have continued 150 days,¹ from the 17th day of the second² month, to the 17th day of the seventh³ month; that is, five months of thirty days. A year thus settled as a period of a certain number of days, is called a civil year, and is one of the institutions of states possessing any degree of civilization; and one of the earliest portions of systematical knowledge is the finding out the length of the civil year, so that it may agree with the natural year of the seasons. By such a mode of reckoning, however, the circle of the seasons would not come round exactly; the actual length of the year is very nearly 365 days and a quarter; so that if a year of 365 days were used, in four years, the year would commence a day too soon, when considered with reference to the sun and stars; and in sixty years it would begin fifteen days too soon, a number perceptible to even a loose share of attention. Various contrivances were used to keep the year correct. The method which we employ consisting in counting an additional day at the end of February every fourth, or leap year, is an example of the principle of intercalation, by which the correction was more usually made. Methods of intercalation for the above purpose were found to exist in the New World; the Mexicans added thirteen days at the end of fifty-two years. The plan of the Greeks was more complex, by means of a cycle of eight years, which had the additional object of accommodating itself to the motions of the moon. The Egyptians, on the other hand, knowingly permitted their civil year to deviate at least so far as their religious ceremonies were concerned. According to Geminus, they did not wish the same sacrifices to be made always at the same time, but that they should go through the various seasons, in order that the same feast might happen in summer and winter, in spring

¹ Genesis c. vii. v. 24. ² Genesis c. vii. v. 11. ³ Genesis c. viii. v. 4.

and autumn. There were other nations that did not regulate their civil year by intercalation at short intervals, but rectified it at long periods, when considered necessary. The Persians are said to have added a month of thirty days every 120 years. The Roman calendar, at first rude in its structure, was reformed by Numa, and was directed to be kept in order by the constant interposition of the augurs. This, however, was from various causes neglected, and the reckoning fell into complete disorder, in which state it was found by Julius Cæsar. By the advice of Sosigenes, the astronomer, who came from Alexandria to correct the calendar, he adopted the mode of intercalation of one day in four years, which we still retain; and to amend the derangement which had been produced, he added ninety days to a year of the usual length, which consequently became what was called the year of confusion. The Julian calendar thus corrected came into use January 1st, 45 B. C.

The circle of changes through which the moon passes in about thirty days, was marked in the earliest stages of languages by the word *month*; as the circle of changes of the seasons was designated by that of *year*. The lunar changes are much more obvious to the senses than the annual. When the sun has set, the moon is the great natural object which attracts our notice. Her changes of form and place are marked and definite to all; and the duration of her cycle is so short, as to require little effort of memory to embrace it. It was therefore more easy, and in the earlier stages of civilization more common, to reckon time by moons than by years. The month is not an exact number of days, being more than twenty-nine, and less than thirty; the latter was first tried as possessing the advantage of regularity, it existed for a long period in many countries. A few months of thirty days, however, would suffice to derange the agreement between the days of the month and the moon's appearance; but a further trial of twenty-nine

and thirty days alternately, would preserve for a considerable period the agreement. The Greeks adopted this calendar, and considered the days of their month as representing the changes of the moon; the last day of the month was styled the old and new, as belonging to both the waning and the re-appearing moon; and their festivals and sacrifices as determined by this mode of reckoning were considered to be connected with the same periods of the cycles of the sun and moon. According to Geminus, "Their laws and oracle directed that they should in sacrifices observe three things: and months, days, and years were so understood." With such a persuasion a correct system became a religious duty. The rule of alternate months of twenty-nine and thirty days, supposes the length of the lunar month to be twenty-nine days and a half, which is not exact. Accordingly the months and the moon became at variance;¹ the correction of this inaccuracy, however, was not pursued singly, it was combined with another object, that of securing an exact correspondence between the lunar and solar years, the chief purpose of the early cycles.

According to the above rule, 12 lunations in a year would make 354 days, leaving about $11\frac{1}{4}$ days of difference between such a lunar and a solar year. The first cycle which produced a near correspondence between the reckoning of the moon and the sun, was the Greek octaeteris, or period of 8 years; 8 years of 354 days, together with 3 months

¹ Aristophanes in "The Clouds," makes the moon complain of this disorder in the calendar.

"The moon by us to you her greeting sends,
But bids us say that she's an ill-used moon,
And takes it much amiss that you will still
Shuffle her days, and turn them topsy-turvy:
So that when gods, who know their feast days well,
By your false count are sent home supperless,
They scold and storm at her for your neglect."

of 30 days each, made up 2922 days, which is the amount of 8 years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days each. The usual method, it is said, was to add a month at the end of the third, fifth, and eighth year of the cycle. It is not known with certainty at what period, or by whom this method was introduced, probably about the sixth century before the Christian era. This cycle was imperfect, and was corrected by others of 16 and 160 years, which were suggested when the length of the solar and lunar periods became known with accuracy. At length a more exact cycle was introduced by Meton of Athens, 431 B. C. This cycle consisted of 19 years, and is so correct and convenient, that it continues in use among ourselves; the time occupied by 19 years, and by 235 lunations, is about the same; the former being less than 6940 days by $9\frac{1}{2}$ hours, the latter by $7\frac{1}{2}$; hence, if the 19 years be divided into 235 months, so as to agree with the changes of the moon at the end of that period, the same succession may begin again with much exactness. The coincidence of the solar and lunar period in this cycle was certainly an important discovery; indeed it is so exact that it is still used in calculating the new moon for the time of Easter; and what is called the golden number by the moderns in stating such rules, is the number of this cycle corresponding to the current year.¹ Meton cycle was made still more exact by Calippus 100 years later, 330 B. C.; he discovered the error of it by observing an eclipse of the moon six years before the death of Alexander the Great; he calculated a period of four cycles of 19 years, and left out a day at the end of 76 years, to make an allowance for the hours by which as already mentioned 6940 days are greater than 19 years, and 235 lunations; this Calippic period is made use

¹ The same cycle of nineteen years has been used by the Chinese for a vast length of time; their civil year consisting, like that of the Greeks, of months of twenty-nine and thirty days. The Siamese also use the same period.

of in Ptolemy's *Almagest* in stating observations of eclipses. The Metonic and Calippic periods imply a considerable degree of accuracy in the knowledge of the astronomers of that day, regarding the length of the month; the invention was a useful one for bringing the solar and lunar calendars into agreement.

A tendency to consider the stars as formed into groups is not unreasonable; how men were led to the fanciful system of names of stars and constellations which prevailed in early times is difficult to determine. Single stars and close groups, as the Pleiades, were named in the days of Homer and Hesiod; and among the Eastern nations at an earlier period.¹ The arbitrary nature of the combinations and figures, leads us to ascribe them more to the imagination and mythological tendencies of mankind than to convenience and love of arrangement. "The constellations," says an astronomer of our own time, Herschel, "seem to have been almost purposely named and delineated to cause as much confusion and inconvenience as possible. Innumerable snakes twine through long and contorted areas of the heavens, where no memory can follow them; bears, lions, and fishes, large and small, northern and southern, confuse all nomenclature. A better system of constellations might have been a material help as an artificial memory." The similarity of the constellations recognised in different countries is remarkable; the Chaldean, Egyptian, and Grecian skies have a resemblance which cannot be overlooked. It has been conceived that this resemblance may

¹ In the book of Job, chap. xxxviii. v. 31, 32, it says, "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades (Chima), or loose the bands of Orion (Kesil)? Canst thou bring forth Mazzarorth (Sirius) in his season? or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sons?" The author is of opinion, however, that the book of Job was written either during the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, or shortly after their return to Jerusalem, about 450 B.C.

be traced also in the Indian and Arabic constellations, particularly in those of the Zodiac. The origin of these signs is believed to be 2500 years before our era. The stars were in very early times supposed to influence the character and destiny of mankind, and to be connected with superior natures and powers. Astrology is of high antiquity in the East, and was one of the first steps to astronomy, by leading to the habit of grouping the stars, followed by the inductive process under the ideas of space, time, and number.

The planets doubtless attracted the notice of men while they were becoming acquainted with the fixed stars. Venus, owing to her brightness, and her accompanying the sun at no great distance, and so appearing as the morning and evening star, was conspicuous; Pythagoras is said to have been the first who maintained that the evening and morning star are the same body. Jupiter and Mars, sometimes brighter than Venus, were also very observable; Saturn and Mercury, less so, would in a clear climate still be detected, with their motions, by persons who studied the aspect of the heavens. To reduce to rules the movements of these luminaries must have taken time and thought; a remarkable evidence of their antiquity is to be found in the structure of one of our most familiar objects of time, the week, which comes down to us, according to the Jewish scriptures, from the commencement of the existence of mankind on earth. The same usage is found all over the East; it existed among the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Arabians. The week is found in India among the Brahmins; it has there also its day marked by those of the heavenly bodies. The idea which led to the usual designations of the days of the week is not easily discovered; the order in which the names are assigned, beginning with Saturday, is, Saturn, the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus; various accounts are given of the manner in which the above order was derived from a pre-

vious one; all the methods proceeded on arithmetical processes connected with astrological views. Laplace considers the week as the most ancient monument of astronomical knowledge. This period has gone on without interruption from the earliest recorded times to our own days, surviving the extent of ages, and the revolutions of empires.

The inventions above-mentioned, though undoubtedly advances in astronomical knowledge, can scarcely be considered as scientific speculations; the exact reckoning of time is one of the wants of the least civilized nations, but the distribution of the places and motions of the heavenly bodies, by means of a celestial sphere with imaginary lines drawn upon it, is an advance in speculative astronomy, occasioned by the scientific propensities of man. It is not known with whom this notion originated. The appearance of the sky suggests the idea of a concave sphere, with the stars in its surface; their motions during a night might be represented by supposing this sphere to turn round a pole, or axis; as there is a conspicuous star in the heavens which apparently stands still, while the others travel round it in circles, and keep the same position with respect to each other. This stationary star is every night the same, and in the same place; the other stars also have the same relative position, but their general situation at the same time of night varies gradually from night to night, so as to go through a cycle of appearances once a year. All this would plainly agree with the supposition that the sky is a concave sphere or dome; that the stars have fixed places on this dome, and that it revolves perpetually about the pole or fixed point. This supposition, however, does not explain the manner in which the appearances of different nights succeed each other; it is answered by supposing the sun also to move among the stars on the surface of the concave dome. The sun by his brightness causes the stars to be

invisible which are on his side of the heavens, even the moon when bright puts out all but the largest stars; and we observe the stars in the evening appearing according to their degree of splendour, as fast as the declining light of day permits them to become visible; as the sun brings day, and his absence night; if he move through the circuit of the stars in a year, we shall have, in the course of that time, every part of the starry sphere in succession presented to us as our nocturnal sky.

The idea that the sun moves round among the stars in a year is the basis of astronomy, a considerable part of the science being only the development of this general conception. That there is a difficulty in tracing the course of the sun among the stars is evident, when we remember that no star can be seen at the same time with him. If the whole circuit of the sky be divided into 12 parts, or signs, it is estimated by Autolycus, the most ancient writer on these subjects¹ whose works have come down to us, that the stars in one of these parts are absorbed by the solar rays, so that they cannot be seen: hence the stars which appear nearest to the place of the setting and rising sun, in the evening and in the morning, are distant from him by the half of a sign; the evening stars being to the west, and the morning stars to the east of him. If the observer had previously obtained a knowledge of the places of the principal stars, he might in this way determine the position of the sun each night, and so trace his path in a year; it was doubtless in some such manner that the sun's path was determined by the early astronomers of Egypt. Thales, who is looked up to as the father of Greek astronomy, or rather of its rudiments, probably learned among the Egyptians the result of such observations; the statement, however, that he predicted an eclipse, is not consistent with the advances which his successors had still to make. The

¹ About 300 B.C.

circle of the signs in which the sun moves among the stars, is obliquely situated with regard to the circles in which the stars move about the poles. According to Pliny, Anaximander, a scholar of Thales, was the first person who pointed out this obliquity, but Plutarch says, it was Pythagoras; it is certain, that the person who first had a clear idea of the sun's path in the celestial sphere, made that important step which led to all the others.

The doctrine of the sphere was one of the earliest branches of applied mathematics, and took its rise from the diurnal motion of the celestial sphere, and the motion of the moon in the circle of the signs. A number of technical terms were soon introduced; the sphere of the heavens was conceived to be complete, although we see but a part of it; it was supposed to turn about the visible pole and another opposite to it, and these poles were connected by an imaginary axis. The circle which divided the sphere exactly midway between these poles was called the equator; the two circles parallel to this, which bounded the sun's path among the stars, were called tropics, because the sun turns back again towards the equator on reaching them. The stars which never set are bounded by a circle called the arctic, from the Bear, the constellation to which some of the principal stars within that circle belong; a circle about the opposite pole is called the antarctic, and the stars within it can never rise to us.¹ The sun's path, or circle of the signs, is called the zodiac, or circle of animals; the points where this circle meets the equator are the equinoctial points, the days and nights being equal when the sun is in them; the solstitial points are those where the sun's path touches the tropics, his motion to the south or to the north ceasing when he is there, and in that respect he

¹ The arctic and antarctic circles of modern astronomers are different from those mentioned above.

appears to stand still. The colures¹ are circles which pass through the poles, and through the equinoxial and solstitial points; they take their name because they are only visible in part, a portion of them being below the horizon. The horizon is understood as the boundary of the visible earth and heaven; in the doctrine of the sphere² it is a great circle, of which the plane passes through the centre of the sphere, consequently an entire hemisphere is always above the horizon.

The establishment of the globular form of the earth is a most important advance in astronomy, as it is one of those convictions directly opposed to the apparent evidence of the senses. When men become satisfied that up and down are different directions in different places; that the sea, which appears so level, is in fact convex; that the earth, which seems to rest on a solid foundation, is not supported at all; it will be admitted that these are great triumphs of the powers of discovery and of conviction; more particularly when we remember how recently the doctrine of the antipodes, or the existence of inhabitants who stand on the opposite side of the earth, with their feet turned towards ours, was considered monstrous and heretical. The different positions of the horizon at different places, would naturally lead the student of spherical astronomy to the notion that the earth is a round body. Anaximander is said to have held the earth to be globular, and to be suspended; it is also stated, that he constructed a sphere on which the extent of land and water was shown. Aristotle, however, so distinctly insists upon this doctrine, that we

¹ From *κολουροι*, mutilated.

² Another important result of the doctrine of the sphere was Gnomonick, or dialling; according to Pliny, Anaximenes first taught this art in Greece, and he and Anaximander are reported to have erected the first dial at Lacedæmon.

may consider him as the establisher of it; he says, "As to the figure of the earth, it must necessarily be spherical;" and he proves it by the tendency of things in all places downwards, by the eclipses of the moon, and the appearance of the stars. This opinion being once asserted, it was confirmed by such arguments as we find in later writers;¹ viz., the tendency of all things to fall to the place of heavy bodies, this place being the centre of the earth; that the inequalities on the surface were so small as not to affect the shape of so vast a mass; that drops of water naturally form themselves into a convex surface; that when ships go out to sea they disappear downwards, which shows the surface of the ocean to be convex: such arguments are still employed in impressing the doctrines of astronomy upon the student of our own times, consequently we find, that even at this early period truths had begun to accumulate which form a part of our present stock of knowledge. When a steady idea of the moon, as a solid body revolving about the earth, had been formed, it was only then requisite to conceive it spherical, and to suppose the sun to be beyond the orbit of the moon; which would give an explanation of the varying forms, or phases, which the bright part of the moon assumes in the course of a month; as the convex side of the crescent moon, and her full edge when she is gibbous, are always turned towards the sun: and this explanation once suggested would be confirmed upon examination. This doctrine is ascribed to Anaximander; Aristotle was also aware of it.

The occurrence of eclipses was regarded with peculiar interest from very early times. The belief of superhuman influences made men look with alarm at any sudden and striking change; and as the constant and steady course of the celestial revolutions was contemplated with feelings

¹ Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii. lxxv.

of awe and admiration, any marked deviation was regarded with terror and surprise. These impressions caused eclipses to be noted and remembered; accordingly mention of them is among the earliest astronomical records which we possess. When some of the laws of succession of other celestial phenomena had been discovered, it probably led to the supposition, that these unusual appearances also might be governed by some fixed rule; and the search after it was successful at an early period. The Chaldeans were able to calculate eclipses of the moon:¹ this they were enabled to do by their cycle of 223 lunar months, making about 18 years, or $6585\frac{1}{3}$ days; at the end of which time the eclipses of the moon will nearly recur at the same intervals, and in the same order.

In astronomy the Greeks adopted a more correct system of acquiring knowledge than that pursued in the other sciences; viz., assiduous and accurate observation. At length Hipparchus arose, and by his splendid talents conveyed to his countrymen a vast amount of correct information on this sublime science, in his construction of solar and lunar tables, and his discovery of the precession of the equinoxes; the one detected a constant law and order in the midst of perpetual change and apparent disorder; the other revealed mutation and movement perpetually operating, where every thing had been imagined fixed and stationary. These discoveries have led to a period of verification and development; the present generation now finds itself the heir to a vast patrimony of science, and it becomes highly interesting to trace the steps by which it is secured to us, and to our posterity for ever. The human race, from the time of its creation, has been travelling onward in pursuit

¹ The eclipses of the sun are more difficult to calculate than those of the moon, as the former depend upon the place of the spectator on the earth.

of truth; it has at length reached a commanding position: with the clear light of day around us, it is grateful to look back on the road of our past progress; to review the journey begun in early twilight, for a long time continued with slow advance and obscure prospects, until we have gradually in later days advanced along an open and lightsome path. The examination of the steps by which our intellectual estate has been acquired, may make us acquainted with our expectations, as well as our possessions; may not only remind us of what we have, but should also teach us how to improve and increase our store.

CHAPTER III.

THE ARTS IN GREECE.

ARCHITECTURE—REMARKS ON THAT OF THE JEWS AND OF THE EGYPTIANS—THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE GREEKS—SCULPTURE; CELEBRATED SCULPTORS, PHIDIAS, PRAXITELES, AND LYSIPPUS—PAINTING; CELEBRATED PAINTERS, POLYGNOTUS, APOLLODORUS, ZEUXIS, PARRHASIUS, TIMANTHES, ARISTIDES, AND APELLES.

The term, architecture, is derived from the name of its professor, Architect; and is the art of contriving and constructing buildings. The earliest author on this subject, whose writings have come down to us, is Vitruvius; he flourished in the reign of the Emperor Augustus, and he will be again mentioned in a subsequent part of this history. The tent and marquee of modern days may be considered as the representations of the earliest habitations of man, at first covered with leaves, afterwards with the bark of trees, and in a more advanced stage of civilization with the skins of animals. Such habitations were the only ones considered necessary by nomadic tribes;

but when men began to congregate in towns for mutual defence, walls, and other contrivances became necessary for protection. In what manner cities were fortified in very early ages is uncertain; whether by mud walls, as the forts in India are at the present day, or by those of brick or stone, cannot now be determined, probably by the first method. The Mexicans and Peruvians, according to the report of their discoverers and conquerors, made their cities very secure by means of walls and other defences, and had considerable structures dedicated to their divinities, whilst their houses were of a mean and unpretending description. Even the rude people of New Zealand are found to fortify their villages respectably, although their habitations are mere huts. There can be little doubt that timber was chiefly used in the earliest ages by men in the construction of their permanent habitations; this belief is confirmed by the tenor of the Mosaic history, and by the command given to the Israelites to burn with fire the cities the inhabitants of which were given to idolatry, which would not have been efficient unless this material had been employed in building them; instructions are also issued to overthrow their altars, and break their pillars;¹ and Jericho² and Hazor were burnt by Joshua.

At so late a period as the establishment of the kingdom of Israel, in the person of David, we find that monarch congratulating himself that he lived in a house of cedar, and gratefully considering the propriety of erecting a temple to the Divinity, as his ark was only protected from the weather by curtains; or, to use the words of David, "I dwell in a house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains."³ Architecture, however, did not flourish among the shepherd tribes of Israel. Saul, the first king, does not

¹ Deuteronomy, chap. xii. and xiii. ² Joshua, chap. vi. 24.

³ 2 Samuel, chap. vii. 2.

appear to have had any settled place of abode; and the sacred ceremonies of the Jewish religion were performed during his reign at Gilgal, where there was an altar of unhewn stones set up by Joshua on taking possession of the promised land. When Solomon built his famous temple, he sent to Tyre for an architect and workmen; and from the descriptions which we have of that edifice in the Bible, although it may have exhibited much barbaric splendour, it had little to boast of as regards classic elegance. Few things have occasioned more amusing and futile controversies, than the style and manner in which Solomon's temple was built. As the Tyrians, or Phœnicians, who were principally employed, built in the Egyptian fashion, the probability is, that it was in the Egyptian style, so far as the Jewish ceremonial would permit; and the accounts of it accord with that of an Egyptian, and not of a Grecian temple. The pillars of Jachin and Boaz, which were set up before the temple, correspond in relative situation with the obelisks before the temple of Thebes. A description of an Egyptian edifice, like that of the Jewish, is given by Clemens Alexandrinus; and the palm leaves, roses, fruits, and flowers in the latter, are common in existing specimens of the former; whereas, in the Greek structures of a similar nature, of early date, no such representations were to be found. There is no reason to suppose that the Jews in after time possessed a national order of architecture, for their temple of Jerusalem was not repeated in other places, like such structures of the heathen divinities among the Greeks and Romans. The belief that an improved style of architecture did not originate in the disposition and decoration of buildings for domestic purposes, but in those sacred to religion, is a rational conclusion, borne out by the records of history and modern researches.

Of the architecture of the Egyptians, it is truly asserted, that no nation has left us structures which in magnitude can

vie with those of that very ancient people. The cities of Assyria, whose sites are not now determinable, are spoken of as unparalleled in the extent and splendour of their edifices; but Nineveh and Babylon were, whilst Thebes and Memphis still remain. It is singular, that the Egyptians, who displayed such energies in the construction of tombs, pyramids, and temples, should leave no work that could be applied to any useful purpose. Denon, speaking of Thebes, says, "Still temples, nothing but temples; not a vestige of the hundred gates so celebrated in history; no walls, quays, bridges, baths, or theatres; not a single edifice of public utility or convenience." According to Diodorus Siculus, "Busiris," supposed to be one of the Pharaohs who persecuted Israel, "built that great city which the Egyptians called Heliopolis, and the Greeks Thebes; adorned it with stately buildings, and magnificent temples. He built all the private houses, some four, and others five stories high." Again, speaking of Memphis, to account for the splendour with which the Egyptians built their tombs, and the comparative meanness of their private dwellings, he says, "They call the houses of the living, inns, because they stay in them only a little while; but the sepulchres of the dead they call everlasting habitations, because they abide in the graves to infinite generations; therefore they are not very curious in the building of their houses; but in beautifying their sepulchres, they leave nothing undone that can be thought of." To the statement of this historian, that private houses were built four or five stories high, there is no credit whatever due to it; for the construction of dwellings in tiers, or stories, was very imperfectly understood even in his time, and that was many centuries after the destruction of Thebes. Herodotus tells us, that the Egyptians were the first who erected altars, shrines, and temples; but of their private houses he gives us no information.

The architecture of ancient Egypt is distinguished by

the boldness and magnitude of its parts, with the uniformity which pervades its features. The existing monuments consist principally of temples, obelisks, and pyramids. The latter are believed to be, in a great measure, solid masses of masonry, whose bases are squares, and whose inclined sides are nearly equilateral triangles; some of them are truncated, and others run up to a point. The vast extent of their temples rendered them independent in some degree of considerations which have weight in architectural composition of the present time, and on which its harmony depends. The enormous dimensions of the great pyramid of Gizeh, at Memphis, are variously given by the different persons who have measured it. M. Nouet, of the French commission in Egypt, determined its base to be a square, whose side is 716 French, or 768 English feet in length, occupying about the area of the great square of Lincoln's Inn Fields, London; and its height 421 French, or 452 English feet, about one-third as high again as St. Paul's Cathedral. It is built in regular courses, or layers of stone, which vary in thickness from two to three feet. On the top course the area is about ten English feet square, though it is supposed to have been two courses higher, which would bring it to the smallest that in regular gradation it could be. It is believed to be a solid mass of stone, with the exception of a narrow corridor leading to a small chamber in its centre; and a larger ascending corridor or gallery, from about half the distance of the first to another larger chamber, vertically above the former, in which was found a single granite sarcophagus, large enough for one body, placing the intention of the structure beyond doubt. The other pyramids differ from that of Cheops, as the largest is called, in size, and slightly in form and mode of construction, some having the angles of the steps, or courses of stone worked away to a plain surface, and others not diminishing in a right line. Of all the architectural works of the Egyptians, however, none have excited so much won-

der and curiosity as the pyramids themselves; not in consequence of any particular beauty in their composition, or ingenuity in their construction, but because of their immense magnitude, and till lately unknown use and antiquity. Denon observes, on his first visit to the great pyramid of Gizeh, "If we reflect upon these pyramids, we shall be inclined to think the pride that constructed them greater than even these masses themselves, and shall scarcely know whether to reprobate most the insolent tyranny which commanded, or the stupid servility of the people which executed the undertaking. None but sacerdotal despots would ever have undertaken them, and none but a stupid fanatical people would ever have built them. The most honourable reason that can be assigned for their erection is the emulation of man to excel the works of nature in immensity and duration; and in this project the builder of them has not been altogether unsuccessful." The pyramids are supposed to have been erected between 1000 and 900 years before the Christian era, and were the sepulchral monuments of the sovereigns. The Egyptians were ignorant of the construction of the arch. The architecture of ancient Egypt, although venerable from its high antiquity, is deficient in beauty and elegance.

In several parts of Greece and Italy there are still found to exist specimens of rude walling, of such remote antiquity, that they are by common consent referred to the fabulous ages, and for want of a more appropriate term are called Cyclopæan. From the concurring opinions of antiquarians, it would appear, that a people named Pelasgi, or sailors, migrated from Asia Minor, or the coast of Syria, at a very early period, and possessed themselves of various countries, some of which were unoccupied, others inhabited by Celtic tribes. According to Mr. Higgins, the Pelasgi, the Etrusci, and the Phœnicians are all the same; and agreeably to Professor Heeren, who affixes dates to

the various migrations, the Pelasgi were of Asiatic origin. "Their first arrival in the Peloponnesus was under Inachus, about 1800 B. C.; and, according to their own traditions, they made their first appearance in that quarter as uncultivated savages. They must, however, at an early period, have made some progress towards civilization; since the most ancient states, Argos and Sicyon, owed their origin to them; and to them with great probability are attributed the remains of those most ancient monuments, generally termed¹ Cyclopic." He adds, that the Hellenes, a people of Asiatic origin, also, expelled the Pelasgi from almost every part of Greece, about 300 years after their first occupation of it; the latter keeping their footing only in Arcadia, and in the island of Dodona, while some of them migrated to Italy, and others to Crete. The arrival of the Egyptian and Phœnician colonies in Greece, Professor Heeren thinks was between fourteen and sixteen hundred years before the Christian era. The connection of Greece and Italy with each other, and with Egypt and Phœnicia, thus appears evident. The Cyclopæan structures, however, were the works of the rude Pelasgi before that connection took place, excepting so far as it existed in their having a common origin. They occupied either simultaneously, or consecutively, both Greece and Italy, which accounts for the sameness of that peculiar mode of structure which is found in both countries, though no evidence exists of its having been practised elsewhere.

The Greeks appear to have been the parents of that system of architecture which is universally allowed to be the most perfect; it consisted of three orders, the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian. As no nation has equalled the Egyptians in the extent and magnitude of their architectural monuments, neither have the Greeks been surpassed

¹ Professor Heeren's Manual of Ancient History.

in the exquisite beauty of form and proportion which theirs possess. The Doric is distinguished by a simple grandeur, with great harmony, and is adapted to works of magnitude, and of a sublime character; of this order is the temple of Theseus, at Athens, built ten years after the battle of Marathon, and at this day nearly entire. No other style than the Doric was in use till after the Macedonian conquests, about which period that beautiful and graceful variety called the Ionic came into fashion; as the Doric is distinguished by a masculine beauty, the Ionic is remarkable for a feminine elegance; the temples of Apollo at Miletus, that of the Delphic oracle, and the temple of Diana at Ephesus, were of this order. The Corinthian marks an age of luxury and magnificence, when splendour had become a predominant passion, but had not extinguished the love for the rich and beautiful. It is also called with the Ionic, the voluted and foliate orders: the Corinthian attempts a union of all the above characters—

“ First, unadorned
And nobly plain, the manly Doric rose;
The Ionic then, with decent matron grace,
Her airy pillar heaved; luxuriant, last,¹
The rich Corinthian spread her wanton wreath.”

Thomson's Liberty.

¹ Besides the three orders above enumerated, another arrangement of the Greeks has been by some called the Caryatic order, in which the statues of women occupied the place of columns, such figures being styled Caryatides. The use of representations of the human and other figures instead of columns, was common, however, in the structures of Egypt and India; and to the former the Greeks were probably indebted for the idea, although they appear to have restricted its application to human female figures. Mr. Gwilt infers, from various circumstances connected with the worship of Diana Caryatis, “ that the statues called Caryatides were originally applied to or used about the temples of Diana; and that instead of repre-

Architecture, to possess genuine beauty, must be mechanically consistent. The decorative members ought to represent a structure which has in it a principle of support and stability; thus, the Grecian colonade was a straight horizontal beam, resting on vertical props, and the pediment imitated a frame like a roof where oppositely inclined beams support each other; their buildings were therefore not only exquisite in beauty, they were also proper models of art, because they implied supporting forces. It is usually taken for granted, that the Greeks were ignorant of the properties of the arch; and from the high opinion which their talents and good sense deserve, it is natural to believe, that if they were acquainted with so useful an expedient, they would doubtless have brought it into operation; whereas no instance of its adoption occurs in the construction of Greek edifices before the connection of Greece with Rome: the more correct mode, however, may be to take this opinion in a limited sense, as it now seems that they understood the principle of the arch in its horizontal position, although the vertical arch was unknown¹ to them. No remains exist of the domestic structures of the Greeks; but it may reasonably be believed that their houses were not so extensive as those of the Romans, for they were a poorer and less luxurious people. The perfect beauty of form and decoration which pervades every article of Greek origin, whether coins, medallions, vases, implements of war or husbandry, even the mean articles of domestic and personal use, is evidence of the fine taste with which their habitations were furnished. Ignorance, however, of the complete and convenient use of the arch, inferior carpentry, the absence of glass, and the want of chimneys, were serious disadvantages, which the Greeks laboured under in the construction and

sending captives, or persons in a state of ignominy, (according to the Vitruvian story) were in fact nothing more than the figures of the virgins who celebrated the worship of that goddess."

Cockerell.

convenient arrangement of their houses ; and which, even in their delightful climate, no degree of taste and elegance could completely countervail ; and must have rendered them much inferior to the splendid mansions of modern days, where elegance, comfort, and convenience are all combined.

Sculpture.—The fine arts have been correctly termed “the offspring of literature ;” and in Sculpture and Painting the Greeks far excelled all ancient nations ; indeed sculpture was brought by them to as high a degree of perfection as architecture. The remains of Grecian sculpture are at this day the most perfect models ; and modern artists have no means of attaining to excellence so certain, as the study of those great master-pieces. The Grecian structure of the human frame was intermediate, between the Asiatic, and that which prevailed in the North of Europe ; more mellow than the rough forms of colder climates, less effeminate than those of the torrid zone ; it united the gracefulness of the one, with the manliness of the other, and gave examples of both in their utmost perfection ; not only were the Greeks beautiful by nature, but the course of their lives, in the constant practice of gymnastic exercises, gave the finest conformation, furnishing exquisite models to the sculptor. The delightful climate of their country did not require that their form should be concealed under a weight of garments, and all its motions were open to view ; the antique statues have therefore a grandeur united with perfect simplicity. The sculptors of Greece possessed the inappreciable advantage of having been preceded by a poet, who had given more admirable pictures of the corresponding faculties of mind, and expressions of body, than had ever been imagined before ; and when they endowed the image of man with an appearance of sentiment, they had acquired the very poetry of the art of sculpture. It is difficult to imagine the genial and generous feeling which must have been innate with

them, for what was beautiful in itself and true to nature! for the harmony of proportions, the grace of form, and the dignity of divine life called forth in their theology. These were the objects, and the legitimate objects of what is erroneously called in modern days the encouragement of the fine arts: in fact, they were promoted by the ancient Greeks, because the people admired and panted for their productions; it was a want to be gratified, a passion to be satiated: art was loved and sought after, not for itself, but for what it created; not because it was an honest means of furnishing a livelihood to a portion of the generation, but because it was almost as necessary to the mass of the people, as their bread and public games. What activity must have reigned in their forges, their quarries, and their workshops! Without the productions of high art, no building was thought worthy of the resort of the citizens in their great public ceremonies and processions, nor of being a residence for the deity of the place. To keep its proper situation among men, art must reign supreme in their hearts, not dive into their pockets for a maintenance; it must command their feelings, warm their affections, dwell in their houses and in their churches; it must remind them of their departed ancestors who gained to themselves a name; it must mitigate and soothe their troubled thoughts; then indeed may the fine arts flourish among us, when they are cultivated not as a mere matter of pecuniary speculation, but for the sake of their productions.

Sculpture is the art of imitating visible forms by means of solid substances, such as marble, wood, or metal; and is one of very great antiquity. The presumption is, that the Chaldeans were the first who invented the art of hewing blocks of wood and stone into the figures of men and animals, at least 1900 years before the Christian era. The Egyptians, we know with certainty, practised the art extensively; the number and variety of their works remaining, from

the rude to the more perfect in execution, give us reason to believe that we have specimens of their earliest, as well as latest productions. Various circumstances appear to have obstructed the progress and advancement of the art in Egypt. The persons of the Egyptians were not possessed of the graces of form, elegance, or symmetry; and consequently they had not a perfect standard on which to model their taste. They were confined by their laws to the principles and practices of their ancestors, and were not permitted to introduce any innovations; their statues were always formed in the same stiff attitude, with the arms hanging perpendicularly down the sides. So far were they from attempting improvements, that in the time of Adrian the art continued in the same rude state as at first; and when their adulation towards that emperor induced them to place among the objects of their worship the statue of his favorite Antinous, the same inanimate stiffness in the attitude of the body and position of the arms was observed. The Egyptian statues were not only formed by the chisel, they were also polished with great care; and as they are generally executed in granite or basalt, stones of a very hard texture, the patience of the artist must have been indefatigable. The eye was often of different materials from the statue; sometimes it was composed of a precious stone,¹ or of metal. Herodotus mentions two Egyptian statues, one placed before the temple of Vulcan at Memphis, the other in the city of Sais, by king Amasis, each 75 feet long; the colossal sphinx near the great pyramid, rises 25 feet; the sitting statues of Memnon, the mother and son of Osmandue, at Thebes, are each 58 feet high. These, with a number of similar works known by remaining fragments, are described by authors.

¹ It is stated, that the valuable diamond of an empress of Russia, the largest and most beautiful hitherto known, formed one of the eyes of the famous statue of Scheringham in the temple of Brahma.

Many of the great works of the Egyptians are believed to have been executed in the reign of Sesostris, who lived in the time of Rehoboam, king of Judah, about 1000 years B. C. The enormous structures of Egypt have impressed both ancient and modern visitors with wonder and awe; quantity was every thing, or almost every thing with them, quality but little; they wished to astonish posterity, and they have succeeded.

If the Greeks derived from the Egyptians, and other foreign nations, the rudiments of the arts, it redounds greatly to their honour, that in a few centuries they carried them to such wonderful perfection as entirely to eclipse the fame of their masters. The earliest objects of idolatrous worship have everywhere been the heavenly bodies; and the symbols consecrated to them were generally pillars of a conical, or pyramidal figure. It was not till hero-worship was engrafted on the planetary, that the sculptor thought of giving to the sacred statue any part of the human form; and it appears to have been somewhat later than this era, that the art of sculpture was introduced among the Greeks. The first representations of their gods were round stones placed upon pillars, and these stones they afterwards formed roughly, so as to give them a similarity to the appearance of a head; agreeably to this description, Pausanias saw a Jupiter at Tegea, in Arcadia; and at Pheres he observed thirty deities, made of unformed blocks, or cubical stones. The Lacedæmonians represented Castor and Pollux by two parallel posts, and a tranverse beam was added to express their mutual affection. Clay was the first material employed by the Greeks in statuary; afterwards wood, stone, marble, ivory, porphyry, alabaster, and basalt were used. They generally, at first, hewed their marble statues out of one block, though they afterwards worked the head separately, and sometimes the arms; the heads of the famous group of Niobe and her daughters have been adapted to

their bodies, after being finished apart. The statues were first hewn roughly, then polished with pumice-stone, and again carefully retouched in every part with the chisel; when porphyry was used, the head and the extremities were commonly of marble.

The first or most ancient style of Grecian sculpture is exhibited on medals, and its statues were neither distinguished by beauty nor by proportion, but had a resemblance to those of the Egyptians. The eyes were long and flat, the section of the mouth was not horizontal, the chin pointed, the curls of the hair were ranged in little rings, and it was impossible by inspecting the head to distinguish the sex; the designing was energetical, but harsh; it was animated, but without gracefulness or beauty. The first Grecian sculptor of whom the ancient historians speak is Dædalus, who lived 1300 years B. C. One of his works mentioned with applause was a Hercules in wood; and his pupil Endæus executed a statue of Minerva, which Pausanias saw in the Acropolis: the art, however, was in a rude state. Dipænus and Scyllis, Cretans, who lived 776 B. C., were celebrated for their statues in marble. Ornatus, who flourished only 50 years before Phidias, and made the statue of Agamemnon at Elis, wrought in the above harsh style. The second, or grand style, was brought to perfection by

Phidias, who flourished 450 B. C.

This great master of his art, the Æschylus of sculpture, was born at Athens, in the first year of the 73rd Olympiad, 488 B. C. When the abasement of the Persian monarchy gave to the Greeks, and particularly to the Athenians, a degree of power which communicated itself to their moral and intellectual character; when Athens was rendered illustrious by the wisdom of her statesmen and philosophers, the genius of her dramatic poets, and the bravery and skill of her commanders, Phidias appeared, and was the contem-

porary of Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, and other celebrated men. This eminent artist was engaged by Pericles to superintend the decoration of the temple of Minerva, and other public works in the city of Athens. At the particular request of Pericles, Phidias¹ executed a statue of Minerva, which was placed in the Pantheon; it was made with ivory and gold, and measured 39 feet in height. According to the opinion of Flaxman, "His superior genius, in addition to his knowledge of painting, which he practised previously to sculpture, gave a grandeur to his compositions, a grace to his groups, a softness in his flesh, and a flow in his draperies unknown to his predecessors; the character of whose figures was stiff, rather than dignified; their forms either meagre or turgid; the folds in their drapery parallel, poor, and resembling geometrical lines, rather than the simple, but ever varying appearances of nature." The works of Phidias were numerous: he was unfortunate enough, however, to meet with the usual reward of merit at Athens; an accusation was brought against him, of having carved his own image, and that of Pericles, on the shield of the goddess, and he was banished by the fickle and clamorous populace. He retired to Elis, and revenged the ill-treatment he had received from his countrymen, by making a statue which should eclipse the fame of that of Minerva. He was successful in the attempt, and the statue he executed of Jupiter Olympius was considered the best of all his pieces; it was 60 feet in height, formed of ivory, or rather covered with plates of that material, enriched with the radiance of golden ornaments and precious stones, and was esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world. Quintilian says of Phidias, "His Athenian Minerva, and Olympian Jupiter, at Elis, possessed beauty which seemed to have added something to religion; the majesty of the work was so worthy of the

¹ Polycletus, Scopas, Alcamenes, and Myron, wrought in the style of Phidias.

divinity." The people of Elis, in a very different feeling from that of the Athenians, were so sensible of his merit, and the honour he had done their city, that they appointed his descendants to the honourable office of keeping clean his magnificent statue, and of preserving it from injury.

The third style of Grecian sculpture was the graceful, or beautiful, introduced by Praxiteles and Lysippus. Being more conversant than their predecessors with the elegant and flowing lines of nature, they avoided the square forms which some of the masters of the second style had too much employed; they considered that the use of the art was more to please than to astonish, and they desired to raise admiration by giving delight. Grace is infused into all the movements and attitudes of their statues; it appears in the delicate turns of the hair, and even in the adjusting of the drapery. Great as the ravages of time have been amongst the works of sculpture, numerous specimens are still preserved, in which we can distinguish dignified and attractive beauty, with that peculiar also to the state of infancy.

Praxiteles flourished 364 B. C.

He was a native of Magna Græcia, and excelled in adorning his statues with the highest graces of youth and beauty. In the words of a judicious writer on sculpture, "None ever more happily succeeded in uniting softness with force, elegance and refinement with simplicity and purity; his grace never degenerates into the affected, nor his delicacy into the artificial." Among the remaining works considered to be by Praxiteles, are his Satyr, Cupid, Apollo the lizard killer, and Bacchus leaning on a fawn. A Venus from his chisel was so highly valued by the citizens of Gnidos, that they refused to part with it to Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who offered to pay an immense debt which they owed, if they would give him their favourite statue. This statue appears to offer the first idea of the Venus de Medicis,

which still “enchants the world, and fills the air around with beauty,” and which is probably a repetition of another Venus by this great artist.

Lysippus flourished 350 B. C.

He was a native of Sicyon, and contemporary with Praxiteles, originally a white-smith; he afterwards applied himself to painting, and then to sculpture: it is believed that he worked only in metal; and although he is said to have executed no fewer than six hundred works, it is not known with certainty if one of them remain. He was so great a favourite with Alexander, that he alone was allowed to make casts of him. The Jupiter of Tarentum, sixty feet high, was one of his great works; and his statues of twenty-five horsemen drowned in the Granicus, had such a value placed on them, that in the age of Augustus they were purchased for their weight in gold. It gives us an idea of the high consideration in which his works were held by the Romans, that even Tiberius trembled in his palace, at an insurrection of the people caused by his removal of a figure by Lysippus from one of the public baths, of a man coming out of the bath, which had been placed there by Agrippa.

The works which remain to us of ancient art are sufficient to attest the excellence of the Greeks in sculpture. A few of the most celebrated may be briefly alluded to. The Apollo Belvedere, that singularly sublime and beautiful statue, is believed to be the Apollo of Calamis, mentioned by Pliny. The Dying Gladiator is another highly valued work, finely designed, full of truth, and admirably executed. The Fawn of the Florence Gallery, so wonderfully restored by Michael Angelo, is an exquisite and characteristic representation. The Fighting Gladiator, and several of the statues of Venus, Diana, Mercury, and Bacchus, are expressive productions of the best days of Grecian sculpture. These precious monuments of art, the ancient groups, exhibit as

it were before us the sentiment and beauty of ancient Greece. The Laocoon, displaying the hopeless agony of the father and sons, is the work of Apollodorus, Athenodorus, and Agesander of Rhodes. The groups of Dirce, Hercules, and Antæus, Atreus, Orestes, and Electra, and Ajax supporting Patroclus, are examples of fine form and character. The group of Niobe and her youngest daughter is replete with heroic beauty and exalted passion. That of the Wrestlers is a difficult but harmonious composition; and that of Cupid and Psyche, shows much elegance and grace. The Elgin Marbles, now the property of the British Museum, belong to a period when the art of Grecian sculpture had attained high excellence. This collection presents us with the material forms in which the art of Phidias, or that of his school, gave life and reality to the beautiful Myths, which veiled the origin of his native city, perpetuating in groups of matchless simplicity the ceremonies of the great national festival of his countrymen.

If we judge by the rarity with which great sculptors have appeared, it would seem that to animate marble is the most difficult of all the imitative arts. Poets, musicians, actors, and painters, have lived in every age; but since the time of Phidias, fewer eminent sculptors have left lasting monuments of their genius, than the number of individuals celebrated in the other arts. The two principal schools were Athens and Rhodes; and such was the talent and disposition of the Greeks towards this art, that it did not appear seriously to decline until the reign of the Antonines; and although great compositions of sculpture were no longer required, the Greeks, down to the fifteenth century, almost until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, continued to execute small works with much elegance. The art in which the Athenians claim distinguished and exclusive superiority, is that which has the least frequently attained perfection.

Painting. — This is the art of representing thought through the medium of form and colour, light and shadow. In what country painting first originated is almost as difficult to decide, as it is to find a country where it never existed. It has already been mentioned,¹ that when the Spaniards landed in South America, the method by which the natives conveyed intelligence of their arrival to king Montezuma, was, by painting the clothes of the strangers, their dress, ships, &c. This evidently must have been the most ancient system, as it is the simplest mode of conveying thought after oral communication. Independently of all theory, however, there cannot be a doubt of the extreme antiquity of painting. It is now believed, that from Ethiopia the knowledge of this art descended to Egypt, and yet we have evidence of the existence of Egyptian painting and sculpture about eighteen centuries B.C.; and even then these arts were in the highest condition that the Egyptian school ever attained. Eighty miles above Dongola, Lord Purdhoe discovered the remains of a magnificent city, which he conceives to have been the capital of Tirhaka mentioned in the Bible; and amongst the ruins, he observed two nobly executed lions, specimens of Ethiopian art. On the shoulders of one of them was the name of Amenoph III., the Memnon of the Greek historians; and it is now considered certain, that as early as the nineteenth century before the Christian era, the walls and temples of Thebes were decorated with painting and sculpture, commemorating personal and historical events. In comparing the designs on these temples, with those of a much later period, the conclusion is drawn, that the Egyptian school of painting never exceeded their merit, so as to advance beyond them. Indeed the Egyptians appear to have been an obtuse people, with heads as thick and hard as their own granite. They had an awful feeling of respect for the wisdom of their ancestors, and a profound hatred of reform; no physician dared

¹ Vol. I., page 15.

to prescribe a new medicine, and no painter dared to invent a new thought. Plato tells us, that the pictures in Egypt in his day were just the same as from ages immemorial. Not a single name of a painter of eminence belonging to them has reached us, and that of but one sculptor, Memnon, author of the three statues at the entrance of the great temple at Thebes. It is impossible that their knowledge of the human figure could be great, for there is proof, that they dared not touch the dead body for dissection, and even the embalmers were in danger from the hatred of the populace. The important discoveries of Belzoni, and his followers, have laid open to us all the habits, public and private, civil and religious, of the Egyptians; and it is now almost as easy for an artist to be correct in painting a subject of that people, as it would be in painting a British one. In one of the tombs opened by him, the various characters of a procession, comprising Egyptians, Chaldeans, Jews, and Negroes, are as clearly distinguished, and as little likely to be confounded, as if they passed in review before us. There is nothing, however, to induce us to believe that other nations owed much to the Egyptians in painting. Unacquainted with perspective, light and shadow, they had only some form, expression, and character. Their female heads are not displeasing; they have a sleepy eye, a full and pleasant mouth, high cheek bones, dark brows, and a silent lazy look, but a total want of ideal beauty. In their groups there is a considerable degree of nature and simplicity. After all, the art of painting was in a rude and infantile state among the Egyptians.

The great superiority of the Greeks over other nations in the arts, is often attributed to the secondary causes of climate and government, strangely overlooking the one important requisite which they possessed, that of natural and inherent genius; it has, consequently, been asked, if the Athenians, Rhodians, Corinthians, and Sicyons owed

their excellence in art to the climate, why did not the same climate produce equal talents in the Spartans and Arcadians? The love of beauty among the Greeks was a principle of their religion; the more lovely a face or form could be rendered in painting or sculpture, the artist considered that he had the surer chance of the blessing of his gods in this world, and of immortal rewards in the next; and there were games instituted, near the river Alphæus, where prizes were adjudicated to the most beautiful. That the Greeks had a strong sensibility, and intense acuteness of understanding, is evident from the fact, that every artist was a philosopher, and every philosopher understood and relished art. The artists began by the study of geometry; they analyzed the peculiarities of the form of man, by contrasting it with that of the lower animals, and thus settled the principles of beauty in the human form. The philosophers recommended to all classes the study of art, as a refined mode of elevating their perceptions of beauty, and the government seconded that recommendation. The passion for the beautiful in poetry, music, painting, and nature, led the Greeks to abhor the cruel and barbarous gladiatorial amusements of the Romans. To compete for glory by poems, music, and pictures; to race for the prize of swiftness, or wrestle for the crown of strength, formed the innocent and delightful objects of their Olympic games; and during these commemorations war ceased, and all Greece assembled in happiness and joy. The greatest and wisest men disdained not these contests; Alexander the Great entered the lists, Plato appeared among the wrestlers at Corinth, and Pythagoras carried off the prize at Elis. When we consider the solemn dignity of the judges at the Olympic games, their supreme power, their decisions—to which kings were obliged to submit, and nations to respect—with the high honours awaiting those who gained the prizes,¹ it is difficult

¹ See Vol. I. Note at the foot of page 107.

to appreciate the effects of all this upon a people of strong susceptibilities.

In the earliest stage of Grecian painting, Philocles and Cleanthes were the inventors of outline; and Ardices from Corinth, and Telephanes from Sicyon, were the first who put it in practice without any colour. It is to this early period that the accusation of Ælian¹ is applied, who says, that the artists were obliged to write underneath their wretched productions, 'This is a bull,' 'This is a horse,' 'This is a tree.' The next class were single colour painters, or monochromatists, as Hygiomon and others. Now the sexes began to be distinguished, and Cimon, the Cleonean, had spirit to attempt the imitation of every thing; he invented foreshortening, and drawing at an angle; he had also the courage to vary his characters, and forms of heads, making them look up, down, behind, &c.; he articulated his joints, exhibited veins, muscles, and gave undulations and folds to his draperies. Panæus, the brother of Phidias, painted the shield of Minerva; and so much had the knowledge of colour and art advanced, that portraits of the principal leaders, Miltiades, Callimachus, and Cynegyras on the side of the Greeks, and of Datis and Artaphernes, who commanded the Persians at Marathon, 490 B.C., were introduced, and recognised by the spectators.

Polygnotus flourished 430 B.C.

He was born at Thasos, an island in the Ægean sea, and was the national and monumental painter of Greece; his pieces appear to have all been votive offerings to his country. This great artist was the first who clothed his female figures in light and flowing draperies, and adorned their heads with rich turbans. To improve the expression of countenance, he made the mouth smile, and by showing the teeth softened

¹ Lib. x. chap. xii.

the ancient rigidity of his predecessors. He painted gratuitously the hall at Delphi, and the portico at Athens; and by so doing presented a striking contrast to Micon, who was paid; such liberality was adjudged worthy to be commemorated by the highest authority in Greece, and the Amphictyonic Council ordered that Polygnotus should henceforth be maintained at the public expense, wherever he went. When he was employed by the Cnidians to adorn the great hall at Delphi, the choice of the subject was left to himself; and as Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, was murdered, and had a tomb near the spot, his painting related to the striking subjects of the Trojan war. This artist, in painting the demon Eurynome with a skin the colour of a blue-bottle fly, showed the felicity of his imagination, as well as his power of observation and imitation.¹ Apollodorus, of Athens, who flourished in the 93rd Olympiad, 407 B.C., discovered the principle of beauty; and according to Pliny, no painting before the time of this artist continued to please on examination. His two great pictures were, a priest in a suppliant posture, and Ajax struck with Minerva's thunders; they were admired at Pergamus in the time of Pliny. Apollodorus was followed by

Zeuxis, who flourished 400 B.C.

Under this celebrated painter, the art continued to advance; he discovered the principles of light and shadow; and according to Pliny, "boldly marched through the door which Apollodorus had opened, daring every thing the pencil could do, and carrying it to the greatest glory." Zeuxis became very wealthy, grew proud, and always appeared at the Olympic games in a purple robe, with his name in gold letters on the border. Thinking that no money could equal the value of his pictures, he frequently gave them

¹ The contemporaries of Polygnotus were Aglaophon, Cephisodorus, Phrylus, and Evenor, the father of Parrhasius.

away, and from this feeling he presented an Alcmena to the Agrigentines, and a Pan to Archelaus. His most celebrated paintings were, Jupiter sitting on a throne, surrounded by the gods, and Hercules strangling the serpents in the presence of his affrighted parents.

This artist has been censured for his large heads, and violent markings, otherwise his works were correct. The Agrigentines, says Pliny, ordered a picture for a temple of Juno Lucina; and as Zeuxis always studied from nature, that he might not be without a model, they sent him the most beautiful of their virgins. Cicero says, it was the Crotoniates who employed him; and that the government ordered the finest girls to present themselves to him, when having selected five, from whose elegance and grace united, he conceived in his mind the form of a perfect woman, his Helen, which he executed with wonderful success. A contest having taken place between Zeuxis and Parrhasius, it is related, that the former painted a boy and grapes, and the birds flew at the fruit; but the latter observed, that if the boy had been equal to the grapes, they should have been frightened away. Parrhasius then exhibited his piece; and Zeuxis desired him to remove the curtain that he might see the painting: the curtain was the painting; and the latter acknowledged himself conquered, by exclaiming, "Zeuxis has deceived the birds, but Parrhasius has deceived Zeuxis himself." This contest contains the great principle of Greek art, that the perfect imitation of reality was not incompatible with the highest style. Zeuxis made his sketches in black and white, or of a single colour heightened with white. He is said to have died in a fit of convulsive laughter at a comical painting which he had executed of an old woman.

Parrhasius was the contemporary and rival of Zeuxis; he was born at Ephesus, and celebrated for great excellence. By the confession of all artists, the manner in which he

blended the contour¹ of his forms was exquisite. He contrived in a picture to paint the people of Athens, and to give a correct idea of their variable character, humble yet vain, timid yet frequently cruel. Parrhasius is accused of having disgraced his genius, by condescending to employ his pencil on indelicate subjects. It is clear, however, that the great men of Greece did not approve of such an improper application of talent. Aristotle condemns the practice, and advises tutors to guard their pupils against such objectionable conduct.²

Timanthes, of Sicyon, followed, and flourished in the days of Philip, father of Alexander. He was the great painter of the sacrifice of Iphigenia in Aulis, and no picture of antiquity had a higher reputation for touching art and delicacy; after exhausting expression in the principal characters, this artist covered³ the face of the father, leaving every spectator to imagine an agony of his own: Euripides has the same incident. Timanthes was ingenious in his inventions: to give an idea of great size to a sleeping Cyclops, he introduced two satyrs trying to span his thumb. Another celebrated picture, was, his Ajax furious at his disappointment, in not receiving the arms of Achilles. Euxenides taught Aristides, the great master of expression; and Eupompus taught Pamphilus, who was the master of Apelles. Eupompus painted a victor with a palm-branch in his hand; and such was his influence in Greece,

¹ The same quality is the great excellence of Correggio.

² During the author's first visit to Naples, in 1829, he took many opportunities of inspecting its splendid museum, famous for the remains of Grecian art; and while at Castel-a-Mare, in the environs, he frequently passed days in rambling over Pompeii; from the paintings on the walls of some of the best houses in that ancient city, it would appear, that the fault of Parrhasius was not looked upon with severe disapprobation by the ancient Romans.

³ In his painting of the death of Germanicus, Poussin hides the face of his wife.

that he was permitted to divide painting into three schools, the Ionian, Sicyonian, and Athenian. Pamphilus was a Macedonian, who combined literature with painting, and made it a principle of tuition, that to be great in either a man should be a mathematician; his charge for teaching was a talent which Apelles and Melanthus paid. So high was the respect entertained for this distinguished man, that first at Sicyon, and afterwards in all Greece, he got it established as a principle of education, that the art of delineating should be taught on tablets, which is the foundation of painting. Aristides, already mentioned as the great master of expression, was the first who excelled in deep emotions, fierce passions, and distressing perturbation: according to Pliny, he was hard in colour, and by no means so harmonious as Apelles, and others. His finest picture was that of a mother dying of a wound which she had received in the sacking of her native city; her infant trying to reach the breast with its toothless gums; whilst the mother, faint and exhausted, appeared struggling to prevent it, lest blood might mingle with the nourishment. Alexander was so affected by this picture at Thebes, that when the city was taken he had it carefully removed to Pella.

Apelles flourished 335 B.C.

He was a native of the island of Cos; educated by Pamphilus, he was master of his art from its foundation, and consequently painted with the "last degree of perfection." Refined, accomplished, delicate, devoting his whole soul to his profession, Apelles¹ was patronised equally by his sovereign and by the people. So great a favourite was he with Alexander the Great, that he issued an order that no other artist should paint his picture; and when he fell in love with Campaspe, a mistress of that monarch, she was gene-

¹ With Apelles, Aristides, Nichomachus, and Protogenes, Echion and Asclpiadorus were the distinguished artists of Alexander's time.

rously given up to the artist. Pliny describes many beautiful pictures executed by Apelles; his Venus Anadyomene, however, was the most celebrated of all his works, but being painted on wood it was destroyed by insects in the time of Augustus. He began another, having completed it as far as the bosom, he died; and although the contours were ready for finishing, no other artist would venture to touch it, such was the veneration entertained for him. His imitation must have been perfect, for his painted horses are said to have made real horses neigh; he was not deficient in expression, for he painted persons dying with great power, and his colour must have been excellent, for he glazed like the Venetian school. This very distinguished man wrote copiously on his art, and explained its principles: his treatises were extant in the time of Pliny, and even in that of Suidas; their loss is much to be regretted. Beauty was the leading feature of his style, and likewise that of the chief painters of his day. In grace he defied competition, which explains the secret of his triumph over all others. "I know when to leave off," said he, "which is a great art; Protogenes does not, overworking is injurious." He was generous, and frankly acknowledged when others were superior to him; observing that Echion was a better composer, and Asclpiadorus more correct in proportion. Notwithstanding the graceful manners of Apelles, his kindness of heart, and his accomplished mind, he was frequently subject to the attempts of malignant envy; when driven by stress of weather into Alexandria, the courtiers of Ptolemy hating his superiority, and dreading the probability of his good fortune, sent him a pretended invitation to sup with the king. Apelles went; Ptolemy felt astonished at the liberty, and sending to demand an explanation discovered the imposition. On inquiring if the artist knew the person who had given him the invitation, he immediately sketched his face on the wall, and the king recognised the culprit. Apelles used to hide himself behind his works to

hear the remarks of the people. This deference to the public voice evinced by sculptors, painters, and statesmen, is a splendid proof of the good sense and understanding of the time; unappreciated by the presumptuous conceited ignorance of modern days: nothing then was done in defiance of public taste, but in conformity to its dictates, and although this may and did lead to injustice in political matters, in art the rule is infallible. This artist had the peculiar tact of seizing the most agreeable expression of a sitter's face, and rendering even his defects a cause of elegant concealment; he painted Antigonus, who had lost an eye, in profile, concealed his defective eye, and made him graceful. This probably was the chief secret of his fortunes, as it has been that of later artists.¹ It was the constant practice of this eminent man to do something every day; hence the proverb, "no day without a line;" he had also steady application and great industry. Highly wrought individual figures, portraits of beautiful nature, in which he particularly excelled, cannot however be put into competition, or rank so high as the monumental and historical pieces of Polygnotus and his contemporaries, although the works of Apelles may be preferred by the delicate sympathies of the world.

The age of Phidias and Polygnotus was the meridian of Greek art, and that of Apelles was its setting glory; after the latter it gradually sunk as if nature were exhausted, although a long list of inferior artists followed him. Such an age has never since been seen, and in all probability never will again, for in order to become such super-excellent sculptors and painters, the feelings of men on these subjects must become religious principles, as they were with the ancient Greeks. It is true, that the paintings of the great artists mentioned above, have perished in the lapse of ages, but if Pliny is correct in his opinion of the merits of

¹ Titian, Vandyke, Reynolds, and Lawrence.

those statues which yet remain, and which we know him to be! We are justified in admitting his taste as equally exact when he celebrates the merits, and critically characterises the different styles of ancient painting.¹ From the above, the Greeks appear to have been the instructors of Europe in all that relates to embellished imagination; and to have introduced into the works of fancy, a solidity, a thought, and a perfection which they had not before. They seem to have been perfectly aware, that as true eloquence is thought rightly expressed; as poetry is thought refined, and heightened by imagination; so painting is the same power blended with ideal excellence of form, and elevated by its graceful characteristic of dramatic truth.

Agreeably to Mr. Millingen's opinion, the honour of the invention of the art of coining belongs exclusively to the Greeks; who, by a coincidence of favourable circumstances, might boast of having produced every thing worthy of admiration in the sciences and in the arts,

¹ The pictures found at Herculaneum, Pompeii, and the Sepulchrum Nasonianum at Rome, were probably the works of Greek artists, for the Romans were never eminent in the arts dependent on design. These pictures exhibit great knowledge of proportions, and of the chiaro-oscuro, but betray an ignorance of the rules of perspective. Perspective was revived in the 16th century; it is a qualification which requires the most comprehensive knowledge of the art of painting, and consists in drawing upon a plane surface true resemblances of objects as they appear to the eye, and owes its birth to that branch of painting employed in the decorations of the theatre. Vitruvius tells us, that Agatharcus, instructed by Æschylus, was the first who wrote on this subject, and that afterwards the principles of the art were more distinctly taught by Democritus and Anaxagoras, the disciples of Agatharcus. Of the theory of this art, as described by them, we know nothing, since none of their writings have come down to us. The first individual who attempted to lay down the rules of perspective, on the revival of learning, was the Italian Pietro del Borgo.

within the range of the sublime, the beautiful, and the useful. Neither the vast empires of Egypt and Assyria, nor even the Phœnicians, however renowned for their experience in navigation, and for the boldness of their commercial expeditions, were acquainted with this invention, so essential to simplifying the concerns of social life, and bringing into communion the most distant nations. Mr. Millingen¹ is further of opinion, that the Romans never attempted to organise a regular monetary system, till a period so comparatively recent as the battle of Actium, about 10 B. C.

CHAPTER IV.

CELEBRATED HISTORIANS OF GREECE IN HER DECLINE—
POLYBIUS—DIODORUS SICULUS—DIONYSIUS OF HALICAR-
NASSUS—STRABO—PLUTARCH—AND ARRIAN.

In her decline, Greece produced some historians of great eminence, with whose works the author will conclude the subject of Grecian literature. The first of these celebrated men was

Polybius, who flourished 162 B. C.

This historian was born at Megalopolis, in Arcadia, 203 years before the christian era; illustrious by birth, he was not less celebrated for the wisdom of his counsels, skill in war, steady virtue, and sincere attachment to the interests of his country. After having been initiated in the duties of a statesman by his father Lycortas, he distinguished himself in Macedonia by his valour against the Romans; and when Perseus had been subdued, he was carried to Rome as a prisoner of war. He was not destined, however, to languish in a dungeon. Scipio and Fabius were

¹ See his “Numismatique de l’ancienne Italie.”

acquainted with his abilities as a soldier, and a man of learning; they made him their friend by kindness and attention. Fixed for a long period in the capital of Italy, which was the grand source of all the counsels that directed and sustained the Roman empire, he had leisure to draw together the information requisite for his great historical work. He accompanied Scipio on his expeditions, and was present at the taking of Carthage and Numantia. Like a true patriot, he relieved the wants of his country when it had become a Roman province, and eased its servitude by exerting in its behalf the influence which he possessed with the most powerful Romans. After the death of his friend and benefactor Scipio, he retired from Italy to his native place, Megalopolis; where he passed the remainder of his days, in the enjoyment of those honours which a good man may with propriety receive from the gratitude of his countrymen, and in the self-satisfaction of a humane and benevolent life. He died in the 82nd year of his age, of the effects of a wound which he received by a fall from his horse, 121 B.C.

Polybius wrote forty books of general history during his own age, from the beginning of the second Punic war to the reduction of the Macedonian kingdom to a Roman province; treating of the Achæan league, the Macedonian, Syrian, Egyptian, Cappadocian, and Persian empires. Of this great work only the first five books have come down to us entire, with an epitome of the following twelve. He merits less the praise of eloquence and purity of language than for authentic information, great impartiality, and judicious reflection. Polybius, in commencing his history, says, "If those who have been employed before me in relating the transactions of past times, had been altogether silent concerning the use and excellence of history, it might be necessary to begin this work by advising all mankind to apply themselves with earnestness to that kind of study; since the knowledge of former events affords the best instruction

for the regulation and good conduct of human life. But as the greater part, or rather all of them, have taken occasion to declare, that history supplies the only proper discipline to train and exercise the minds of those who are inclined to enter into public affairs; and that the evil accidents which are there recorded to have befallen other men, contain the wisest and most effectual lessons for enabling us to support our own misfortunes with dignity and courage: there is little need to repeat what others have often urged with eloquence and force. Indeed, the subject which I am engaged to treat may well exempt me from this task, since it is of a kind so new and singular, that it cannot fail to excite the attention of every reader; for what man is there so sordid and insensible, that he would not wish to be informed in what manner, and through what kind of government, almost the whole habitable world, in less than the course of fifty-three years, was reduced beneath the Roman yoke; an event of which there is no example in any former time. That the subject of this work deserves more than a common share of attention and regard, on account both of its novelty and greatness, will evidently appear, if we take a view of all the ancient states that are chiefly celebrated in history, and compare them with the Roman."

"The Persians were for some time possessed of a very wide dominion; but whenever they laboured to extend it beyond the bounds of Asia, the attempt was always unsuccessful, and once proved fatal to them. The Lacedæmonians, after many struggles, obtained the sovereignty of Greece, but within twelve years were again divested of it. The Macedonian kingdom was at first extended from the provinces that border on the Adriatic coast, as far as the Danube; the whole including only a small and inconsiderable part of Europe. After some time, they found means to conquer the Persian monarchy, and joined Asia

to their empire. Though the general opinion of mankind may have taught us to regard this people as a very flourishing and potent state, it cannot be denied that a great part of the world was totally exempted from their sway. Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia were never visited by their arms; and those fierce and warlike nations who possessed the western parts of Europe, were unknown and undiscovered by them. But the Romans, disdaining to confine their conquests within the limits of a few countries only, have forced almost the whole habitable world to pay submission to their laws; and have raised their empire to that vast height of power, which is so much the wonder of the present age, and which no future times can ever hope to exceed. This is the event which I design to explain in all its parts and circumstances, in the following narration; and from thence it will be evident, what great advantages may be derived from an attentive perusal of political history."

He continues, "The point of time from whence I begin my work, is the hundred and fortieth Olympiad.¹ The transactions are these which follow.—In Greece, the social war, conducted by Philip, the son of Demetrius, and father of Perseus, in conjunction with the cities of Achaia, against the Ætolians. In Asia, the war between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopater, for the sovereignty of Coele-Syria. In Italy and Africa, that between the Carthaginians and the Romans, which is generally styled the war of Hannibal. These events are the next in order to those with which the history of Aratus² is concluded. Before this period, the great transactions of the world were single, distinct, and unconnected, both in place and time; while each proceeded from motives peculiar to itself, and was directed to its own proper end; but from this time, history assumes an entire

¹ 220 B. C.

² Commander of the Achæans: he died 203 B. C.

and perfect body. The affairs of Italy and Africa, were now joined with those of Asia and Greece, and all moved together towards one fixed and single point. It was this that first determined me to choose this era for the beginning of my work. For it was not till after they had broken the strength of Carthage in the war just mentioned, that the Romans, imagining that by this success the chief and most important part of their intended enterprise, had opened to themselves the way to universal empire, now first resolved to enlarge their conquests, and spread their armies over Greece and Asia."

This celebrated writer had discovered, that history, to prove a science and useful guide, should walk hand in hand with life; and that instruction, whether moral or political, ought never to be fixed on the weak foundation of imaginary occurrences; he says, "Truth is the eye of history; for as an animal, when deprived of sight, becomes incapable of performing its natural and proper functions; so if we take away truth from history, what remains will be nothing more than a useless tale." In Polybius, it is the statesman, the general, the philosopher united, who speaks to us in familiar language, recounts simply all that was transacted, confirms facts by undoubted testimony, and enables us to draw easy and profitable instruction from the prudence or misconduct of past times, by reflections deep and solid, such as our own reason cannot but approve of. The probity which shines out in every part of the work of this great historian, is equally conspicuous with his wisdom; blinded by no interest, seduced by no mistaken zeal, as he is never deceived, he does not attempt to lead others into error. Upon even a slight view, it is easy to discern a candour spread through his writings, which never hides the faults of friends, nor tarnishes the virtues of an enemy; a sincerity which presents objects in their true state free from the disguise of passion, and which weighs contending testimonies

in an equal scale. Such was the author, who when living was the friend, the companion, the instructor of the generous and heroic Scipio ; and whose writings in a later age were the earnest study and chief consolation of the unfortunate and mistaken Brutus, who not only perused his history with much attention, but also epitomised it, and often retired from the field where he had drawn his sword against Octavius and Antony, to read the instructive page which described the great actions of his ancestors.

Diodorus Siculus flourished 45 B. C.

He was a native of Argyra in Sicily, and composed in forty books a general history of the world under the title of *Bibliotheca Historica*, embracing a period from the reign of Ogyges, king of Bœotia, to his own time. Of this great work, which is said to have been the labour of thirty years, only fifteen books are extant, and a few fragments. The first five are properly the mythological part, full of Egyptian and Grecian fables, although useful for understanding ancient authors, and obtaining a knowledge of the Assyrian monarchy. They give an account of the affairs of the world from the commencement of time, so far as it was known to the ancients, to the Trojan war. The next five have perished, consequently the eleventh book follows, which begins with the expedition of Xerxes into Greece ; and from thence to the sixteenth book, the history is continued to the reign of Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great ; and from the reign of Philip, in five more, to the expedition of Seleucus Nicanor in Cappadocia, containing the events of a period of 179 years. This historian is accused of chronological inaccuracy in the earlier part of his work ; the authenticity however of the latter periods are unimpeached. His style is neither elegant nor laboured ; it is simple and unaffectedly correct.

Diodorus Siculus, in giving an account of the state of man

in the earliest ages, says, "Men at first led a rude sort of life, and wandered in the fields, and fed upon herbs, and the natural fruit of the trees. Their words were confused, without any certain signification; but by degrees they spoke articulately, making signs, and giving proper terms upon occasion; till at length their discourse became intelligible one to another. Being dispersed into various parts of the world, they did not all speak the same language, every one using that dialect proper to the place, as his lot fell; upon which account there were various and all sorts of languages in the world, and these associations of men first planted all the nations of the world." He continues, "What was useful for the life of man was not found out at the beginning; the first race of mankind lived a laborious and troublesome life, being without clothes and houses, unacquainted with the use of fire, and destitute of delicacies for their food. They had neither barns nor granaries in which to deposit the fruits of the earth, and therefore many perished in the winter through cold and hunger. At length, being taught by experience, they fled to caves in the winter, and laid up a store of such fruits as were fit to keep; coming by degrees to the knowledge of the usefulness of fire, and other improvements beneficial to man's life. Necessity was man's instructor, which made him skilful; being an ingenious creature, assisted as with many servants, with hands, speech, and a rational soul, ready to put every thing into execution."

On the subject of ancient mythology, Diodorus Siculus tells us, that "The first generation of men, contemplating the beauty of the superior world, and admiring with astonishment the frame and order of the universe, judged there were two chief gods that were eternal, the sun and moon; the first of which they called Osiris, and the other Isis; the former, in the Greek language, signifying a thing with many eyes, applied to the sun darting his rays into

every corner; and the latter, signifying ancient, that name being ascribed to the moon from the earliest generations. Therefore, they say, that every particular being in the universe is perfected and completed by the sun and moon; whose qualities are five—a spirit, or quickening efficacy; heat, or fire; dryness, or earth; moisture, or water; and air, of which the world consists, as a man made up of head, hands, feet, and other parts. These five they reputed for gods; and the people of Egypt, who were the first that spoke articulately, gave names proper to their several natures, according to the language they then spoke; and therefore they called the spirit, Jupiter; fire, Vulcan; the earth, as the common womb of all productions, they called Metera, altered by the Greeks to Demetra, anciently Gen Metera, or the mother earth; water, or moisture, Oceanus, which is by interpretation, a nourishing mother; and to the air they gave the name of Minerva, meaning something proper to the nature thereof, and called her, the daughter of Jupiter, and counted her a virgin, because the air naturally is not subject to corruption, and in the highest part of the universe, whence rises the fable, that she was the issue of Jupiter's brain."

On the subjects of the vine, the olive, and the cultivation of grain, he says, "Osiris was much given to husbandry; he was the son of Jupiter, brought up in Nisa, a town of Arabia the Happy, near to Egypt; called by the Greeks Dionysius, from his father, and the place of his education. Here he found out the use of the vine; and there planting it, was the first that drank wine, and taught others how to plant it and use it, and to gather in their vintage, and to keep and preserve it. Above all others, he most honoured Hermes, one of admirable ingenuity and quick invention, in finding out what might be useful to mankind. This Hermes was the first that taught how to speak distinctly and articulately, and gave names to many things that had none before. He found out letters, and instituted the

worship of the gods, and was the first that observed the motion of the stars, and invented music and arithmetic, and the art of curious graving and cutting of statues. He was the first that taught the Greeks eloquence; thence he is called Hermes, a speaker, or interpreter. To conclude; he was the sacred scribe of Osiris, to whom he communicated all his secrets, and was chiefly guided by his advice in every thing. He, not Minerva, as the Greeks affirm, found out the use of the olive tree, for the making of oil. It is also reported, that Osiris, being a prince of public spirit, and ambitious of glory, raised a great army, with which he resolved to go through all parts of the world that were inhabited, and to teach men how to plant vines, and to sow wheat and barley; for he hoped, that if he could civilize men, and improve their rude course of life, by such public good and advantage he should raise a foundation among all mankind for his immortal praise and honour. Where vines would not grow and be fruitful, he taught the inhabitants to make drink of barley,¹ little inferior in strength and pleasant flavour to wine itself; and for the many benefits of which he was the author, by the common consent of men, he gained the reward of immortality, and honour equal to the heavenly deities." These extracts are valuable, as they inform us what the opinions of the ancients were on the above subjects.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus flourished 25 B.C.

This celebrated man, eminent both as an historian and rhetorician, left his native country of Caria in Asia Minor, and went to reside in the capital of Italy, that he might carefully study the Greek and Latin writers whose compositions treated of the history of Rome; he became acquainted with all the great authors of his age in the reign of Augustus, and after an unremitted application of many

¹ Beer.

years, he gave to the world his *Roman Antiquities* in twenty books, of which only the first eleven are extant. This work was greatly valued by the ancients as it has been by the moderns, for its valuable information, easiness of style, fidelity of chronology, and judiciousness of remark and criticism. A complaint has however been made against him, that he has given way too much to a spirit of systematising, and wrote more in the manner of an orator than of a historian.

In his commencement of the first book, he expresses his opinion on the proper method of writing history, as follows, "Though not a friend to the discourses usually employed in the prefaces to histories, yet I am obliged to speak of myself; in doing which, I shall neither dwell too long on my own praise, which I know would be disagreeable to the reader, neither shall I censure other historians, as Anaxilaus and Theopompus have done in the prefaces to their histories; but shall only show the reasons that induced me to undertake this work, and give an account of the means by which I was furnished with the knowledge of those things I am going to relate. For I am of the opinion, that all who propose to leave such monuments of their minds to posterity, as time shall not involve in one common ruin with their bodies, and particularly those who write histories, which we look upon as the repositories of truth, the source both of prudence and wisdom, ought first of all to make choice of worthy and noble subjects, and such as are of utility to their readers, then with great care and pains provide themselves with proper materials. For those who build their histories upon subjects inglorious, or of no importance, either desirous of being known and of getting a name of any kind, or wishing to display the abundance of their oratory, are neither known by posterity to their advantage, nor commended for their eloquence; leaving this opinion in the minds of all who are conversant

with their histories, that their lives and their writings were of a piece; since it is a just and general observation, that the works of an author are the images of his mind. There are others who make choice of the best subjects, but by founding their relations upon common reports through precipitancy and carelessness, lose the merit of that choice. For we do not allow the histories of renowned cities, and of men who governed nations, to be written in a hasty and negligent manner. As I am convinced that these considerations are necessary, and ought to be regarded by historians, and as I have taken great care to observe them both, I would neither omit the mention of them, nor give it any other place than in the preface to this work."

Regarding his residence in Rome, he says, "I came into Italy immediately after Augustus Cæsar had put an end to the civil war, in the middle of the 187th Olympiad;¹ and having from that time to this present, that is, twenty-two years, lived at Rome, learned the Roman language, and acquainted myself with their writings, I employed all that interval in preparing materials for this work; and some things I received from men of the greatest consideration among them for learning, whose conversation I used; and others I gathered from histories written by the most approved Roman authors. Supported, therefore, by the authority of these histories, which are like the Greek annals, I undertook this work." Again, he tells us, "I begin my history from the most ancient relations, which the historians before me have omitted, as a subject not to be cleared up without great difficulty; and bring it down to the beginning of the first Punic war, which broke out in the third year of the 128th Olympiad.² I relate all the foreign wars the city was engaged in during that period, and all the seditions with which she was agitated; from what causes

¹ 30 B. C.

² 266 B. C.

they flowed, and by what measures, and from what motives they were appeased. I give an account, also, of all the forms of government she used, as well during the monarchy as after its dissolution, and what was the constitution of each. I enter into a detail of the best of all customs, and the most excellent of all laws; in short, I show the whole manner of living of the ancient Romans. As to the form I give to this work, it does not resemble that which the authors who make wars alone their object have given to their histories; nor that which others, who treat of the several forms of government by themselves, have adopted; neither is it like the chronological works which the authors of the Athenian annals have published, for these being uniform soon grow tedious to the reader: but it partakes of every kind; of the oratorical, speculative, and narrative; to the intent, that I may afford satisfaction to those who desire to qualify themselves for political debates, to such as are engaged in philosophical speculations, and to all who propose no other end in the contemplation of military actions, than undisturbed entertainment." This historian also wrote several treatises, in which he compared the authors who had preceded him.

Strabo flourished 10 B. C.

He was born at Amasia, on the borders of Cappadocia, and studied under Xenarchus the peripatetic philosopher, and afterwards embraced the tenets of the stoics. Of all his works, nothing remains but his geography divided into seventeen books. It affords us much curious information relating to the circumstances of the ancient world, and is justly celebrated for its elegance and erudition. It contains an account of the most celebrated nations, their origin, manners, religion, and government. Strabo travelled much in search of information, and to examine with critical inquiry, not only the situation of cities, but also the customs and habits of the inhabitants whose history he intended

to write; and in all that he ascertained by personal observation, he is remarkably accurate. In his two first books, he endeavours to show the necessity of geography; in the third, he gives a description of Spain; in the fourth, of Gaul and the British Isles. The fifth and sixth contain an account of Italy, and the neighbouring islands. The seventh, which is not entire, gives a description of Germany, and the country of the Getæ, Illyricum, Taurica Chersonesus, and Epirus. The affairs of Greece, and the adjacent isles, are treated of in the eighth, ninth, and tenth books. In the four next, Asia, with Mount Taurus; and in the fifteenth and sixteenth, Asia without Taurus, India, Persia, Syria, and Arabia. The last, the seventeenth, gives an account of Egypt, Ethiopia, Carthage, and other parts of Africa. Among the writings of Strabo which have been lost, were his historical commentaries. This eminent geographer died about the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius.

Plutarch flourished A. D. 100.

He was a native of Chæronea, a town in Bœotia, between Phocis and Attica. The exact period of his birth is involved in obscurity; it is certain, however, that he first grew into reputation under the Emperor Vespasian, and that his philosophical fame was established in the time of Trajan. He appears to have been descended from a highly respectable family, and studied philosophy under Ammonius at Delphi; conducting himself with so much propriety, that whilst very young he was appointed by his countrymen to go to the Roman proconsul in their name, upon an affair of importance. “I remember,” says he, “that I was sent, when a very young man, along with another citizen of Chæronea, on an embassy to the proconsul. My colleague being by some accident obliged to stop in the way, I proceeded without him, and executed our commission. Upon my return, when I was to give an account in public of my

negociation, my father took me aside, and said, ‘ My son, take care that in the account you are about to give, you do not mention yourself singly, but jointly with your colleague. Do not say, I went, I spoke, I executed; but we went, we spoke, we executed. Thus, though your colleague was incapable of attending you, he will share in the honour of your success, as well as in that of your appointment; and you will avoid the envy which follows all arrogated merit.’ ” Plutarch afterwards travelled in quest of knowledge; and after he had visited Greece and Egypt, he fixed himself at Rome, where he opened a school. His reputation became great, and his school became much frequented. The Emperor Trajan admired his abilities, and became his friend; honouring him with the office of consul, and appointing him governor of Illyricum. After the death of his imperial benefactor, he left Rome, and returned to Chæronea, his native place; where he lived in tranquillity, esteemed and respected by his fellow-citizens, and raised to all the honours which his native town could bestow, being made Archon, or chief magistrate of the city. In his retreat, Plutarch applied himself to study, and wrote part of his works, and several of “ His Lives.” He died in an advanced old age, about A.D. 140.

The most distinguished composition of Plutarch, is his “ Lives of Illustrious Men,” which is one of the most valuable literary works of the ancients; introducing us to an acquaintance with the private character and manners of those distinguished persons, whose public actions are recorded by professed historians. He examines and delineates his heroes with much skill and impartiality; he neither misrepresents their virtues, nor hides their failings. His style though not elegant, is clear and energetic; and he is unquestionably one of the most entertaining, instructive, and interesting of all the writers of antiquity. Several contemporary authors of distinguished abilities flourished with him; Lucan, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, the younger

Pliny, Solinus, Martial, Quintilian, and others; yet none of these have made mention of him. Envy is not unreasonably supposed to be the cause; they probably did not like that a Greek of a small town, such as Chæronea, should enjoy the palm of literary praise at Rome; a jealousy of the Greek philosophers was certainly a feeling of that age. To be undistinguished, however, by the encomiums of contemporary writers, was by no means a circumstance peculiar to Plutarch. It has been, still is, and ever will be, the fate of superior genius to be beheld either with silent, or abusive envy. It makes its way like the sun, which we look upon with pain, unless something passes over him, that obscures his glory; we then view with eagerness the cloud or spot, and are pleased with what eclipses the brightness we otherwise cannot endure; such is often the sad littleness of the human mind. Still if Plutarch, like other great men, found "envy never conquered but by death," his manes have been appeased by ample atonement, illustrious authors of all succeeding ages having joined in complimenting him. Among whom may be mentioned, Aulus Gellius, Taurus, Eusebius, Sardianus, Origen, Theodoret, Suidas, Petrarch, and others. Agathias, in the following epigram, which is somewhat extravagant, embodies his applause.

"Chæronean Plutarch, to thy deathless praise
Does martial Rome this grateful statue raise;
Because both Greece and she thy fame have shar'd;
Their heroes written, and their lives compar'd.
But though thyself could'st never write thy own:
Their lives have parallels, but thine has none."

The morality of Plutarch is excellent; but we must make allowance for his misguided philosophy, and erroneous doctrines, sullied with the faults of ancient mythology. His moral treatises, although containing useful lessons and curious facts, are very inferior to "His Lives." He left two sons, Plutarch and Lamprias; the latter appears to have been

a philosopher, and has left us a catalogue of his father's writings, which are unfortunately no longer extant. Plutarch had also a nephew, named Sextus, who bore a considerable reputation in the literary world, and who taught the Greek language and learning to Marcus Antoninus. The character which that philosophic Emperor has given him in his first book of reflections, may with propriety be applied to his uncle; "Sextus, by his example taught me mildness and humanity; to govern my house, like a good father of a family; to fall into an easy and unaffected gravity of manners; to live agreeably to nature; to find out the art of discovering the wants of my friends; to overlook the noisy follies of the ignorant and impertinent, and to comply with the understandings of men."

Arrian flourished A. D. 140.

He was born at Nicomedia, a city of Bithynia, and was a disciple of Epictetus; he afterwards became a priest of Ceres and Proserpine; and employed a great part of his life in the study of polite literature, and was complimented with the freedom both of Rome and Athens; he was also distinguished for his acquaintance with military and political life. Arrian wrote seven books of the wars of Alexander the Great, which have come down to us; they form a composition highly and deservedly valued, being executed with judgment and fidelity. A history of India by him is still extant, and a work on military tactics. His style, although unadorned, is chaste, perspicuous, and manly. He became a man of the first rank and influence at Rome, was advanced to the consular dignity, and made governor of Cappadocia when that province was in arms. Antoninus Pius admired his writings, held him in the highest esteem, and learned from him the doctrines of Epictetus, the stoic philosopher.

CHAPTER V.

ITALY.

ETRURIA—MAGNA GRÆCIA—SICILY—THE FOUNDATION OF
ROME—PROGRESS OF THE ROMAN LANGUAGE AND LITE-
RATURE—THE AUGUSTAN AGE OF LEARNING.

The Roman literature, after that of Greece, becomes the great object of attention. Before we proceed, however, to its history, it is requisite to make some remarks on the earlier ages of Italy; comprising the era of the Etruscan people, Magna Græcia, and Sicily.

In proceeding to investigate the literary history of a nation, it becomes desirable to ascertain whence their first rudiments of knowledge were derived. The privilege assumed by national vanity has unfortunately enveloped the antiquity of almost every country in obscurity; and there is no race whose early history is involved in more mystery and contradiction than that of the first inhabitants of those Italian states, forming, in after times, component parts of the Roman empire. The origin of the five Saturnian, and twelve Etruscan cities, is lost in the darkness of ages. At the period when the light begins to dawn through authentic information, we find Italy occupied by numerous tribes, in various degrees of civilization, speaking different dialects, and contending with each other for the possession of the lands from which they drew their subsistence; Umbrians, Ligurians, Sabines, Veientes, Latins, Æqui, Volsci, &c.; Latium, a territory of fifty miles in length, by sixteen in breadth, containing no less than forty-seven independent cities and states. Before the above period, all pretended accounts are founded either upon poetical invention, the speculations of theorists, or national vanity, assuming a Phœnician, Grecian, and even a divine origin.

The fortunate and eligible position of Italy, encompassed on three of its sides by a sea¹ which washed the coast of all the south of Europe, with the shores of Africa and Asia, afforded facilities to emigration, communication, and commerce, with nearly every part of the ancient world. It became therefore natural, that this peninsula, gifted with a fertile soil, excellent climate, and charming scenery, should attract the attention of its neighbours, and allure them from less favoured regions. The spacious lakes and extensive mountains by which Italy is intersected, divided it into separate states; and although we cannot conjecture with certainty the precise era when that country was first occupied, we have reason to believe, that it was inhabited by a refined and cultivated nation, many ages before the Roman name was known, viz., the Etruscans; of whom there exist at this day, monuments in the fine arts, which prove them to have formed a splendid, luxurious, and polished state. The origin of this extraordinary people, called Tyrrhenians by the Greeks, and Tusci, or Etrusci, by the Latins, has been a subject of endless and unsatisfactory controversy among the Italian antiquarians; their descent having perplexed the ancients, not less than it has done the moderns. The Greek and Latin writers, generally agree, however, in considering them to have come from Lydia, conducted into Italy by Tyrrhenus, son of Atys, king of that country, in the time of a severe famine; and from whom the adjoining sea received its name. Their alphabet resembling the Phœnician, leads us to believe them of Eastern descent. The Roman historians particularly mention them, as a powerful and opulent nation long before the origin of Rome.² Dionysius of Halicarnassus, although he differs from the opinion that the Etruscans were descended from the Lydians, and con-

¹ The Mediterranean.

² Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium late terra marique opes patuere. Liv. v. 33.

siders them as the aborigines of the country, deduces many of the religious rites of the Romans from them.

Lanzi, who is considered the most learned and correct writer on the subject of the Etruscans,¹ does not pretend to investigate their origin; though he seems to think that they were Lydians, augmented from time to time by tribes of the Pelasgi. He has endeavoured to prove, that whatever may have been their descent, the religion, learning, language, and arts of the Etruscans, ought to be referred to a Greek origin. The period of Etruscan perfection in the arts, and the formation of those vases and urns which we now admire, he maintains, was posterior to the subjugation of Etruria by the Romans, and at a time when an intercourse with Greece had rendered the Etruscans familiar with models of Grecian perfection; and he asserts, that there are in the Etruscan tongue, such clear traces of ancient Greek, particularly in the names of gods and heroes, that it is impossible to ascribe its origin to any other source; this he attempts to show from the inscriptions on the Eugubian tables.²

¹ They are said to have been called Tuscans, or Etruscans, from the Greek *θω*, denoting skill in their sacrificial ceremonies; in which, as well as in all kinds of augury, they were particularly experienced.

² So called from having been found at Eugubium (Gubbio) a city in ancient Umbria, near the foot of the Apennines, where they were dug up in 1444. When first discovered, they were believed to be in the Phœnician language; it was afterwards observed, however, that five of the seven tables were in the Etruscan characters, or rather, in the Umbrian dialect of that tongue, and the others in Roman letters, although in a mystic jargon between Latin and Etruscan, with such a mixture of each as might be expected from an increased intercourse. The two tables in the Latin characters were written towards the close of the 6th century of Rome, and those in the Etruscan letters a short time previously;

From whatever nation the Etruscans originally sprung, they soon arrived at an enviable height of prosperity and power. Etruria proper, or the most ancient Etruria, reached from the Arno to the Tiber, being nearly bounded by these rivers from their sources, to their junction with the Tyrrhenian sea. They soon, however, passed those narrow limits. To the north, they spread their conquests over the Ligurian territory, that region between the Alps and the Arno, and to which they gave the name of New Etruria; on the south, they crossed the Tiber, and made tributaries of the Latins, imposing on them many of their usages and rites. Having thus opened a way through Latium, they drove the Osci from the fertile plains of Campania, and founded the city of Capua, about fifty years before the building of Rome, 800 B.C. Colonies were also sent out by them to places beyond their immediate sway, till at length the Italian name became absorbed in that of Etruria. The feelings of the Etruscans were not altogether bent on conquest and political aggrandizement; their attention was likewise directed to useful institutions, and to the cultivation of the fine arts. The twelve confederated cities of Etruria were embellished with numerous monuments of architecture, wholesome laws were enacted, their commerce became extended along all the shores of the Mediterranean, and by their means the general progress of civilization in Italy was greatly increased. The glory and prosperity of the Etruscans were at their height before Rome possessed a name, but their government, like that of other republics, contained the seeds of decay; their kings were merely nominal presidents of the different cities, with little real power, rather than monarchs of the whole realm. Domestic rivalships, and petty dissensions in the general assemblies of the twelve states, rendered them

both consist solely of ordinances for the performance of sacred rites and religious ceremonies.

incapable of opposing an adequate barrier to the encroachments of their powerful neighbours. A confederate government, only held together by the feeble link of political connection, presents no compact resistance to the united strength of intrepid enemies. At sea they were attacked by the Syracusans and Carthaginians; the Umbrians retook several of their ancient possessions; they were forced by the valour of the Gauls, to yield to them the plains which lie between the Alps and Apennines; and the Samnites expelled them from the still more delightful regions of Campania. While the Etruscans were thus reduced almost within the territory which still bears their name, the modern Tuscany, a more formidable foe than any they had hitherto encountered, appeared on the political theatre of this peninsula. It was Latium which had the honour to see one of its towns rise to the superior dominion of Italy, and ultimately of the civilized world. Rome, which Dionysius of Halicarnassus, represents as a respectable colony, fitted out from Alba under the guidance and direction of Romulus, and supplied with money, provisions, and arms; but which was, with a far greater degree of probability, composed of outlaws from the Æqui, Marsi, Volsci, and other Latin tribes, had gradually acquired strength, while the power of the Etruscans was in a state of decline. Enervated by pleasure and opulence they despised the rough manners of the Romans, though they were obliged to respect their military prowess. The fall of Veii was a fearful warning, and they now found it necessary to preserve their independence rather by policy than by force of arms. At length, in an evil hour, they were ungenerous enough to take advantage of the difficulties of their enemy: and while the rival state was pressed on the south by the Samnites, they leagued themselves with the Gauls, who had descended from the Alps, to the anticipated conquest of Rome. But before they succeeded in fully uniting their forces, the consul Dolabella met them in

battle, and annihilated the military population of Etruria, near the lake Vadimona, A.U.C.¹ 471; and the feeble remains of that nation were compelled to submit to the imperious conditions of peace dictated by their conquerors, which left them little more than the remembrance of a splendid name.

The excellence to which the Etruscans attained in architecture, sculpture, and painting, forms some presumption regarding their progress in those sciences which are essential to eminence in the arts. Unfortunately, however, we have not a vestige of their writings remaining; it therefore becomes impossible to hazard a certain opinion of the merits of their literary compositions. Although their books were extant and known at Rome, nevertheless Cicero and other Latin writers, who have the Greek authors constantly in their mouths, very seldom allude to any works of the Etruscans, except to treatises on augury and divination.² It is stated, however, that this people cultivated a species of poetry, sung or declaimed during the offering of sacrifices, and the celebration of marriages. The ancient nuptial hymns of the Romans were called Fescennine, from Fescentia, a city of Etruria, where such verses were first employed. These songs, or hymns, were of the rudest description, being a sort of extemporaneous composition of coarse jests, originally recited by the peasants at those feasts of Ceres which celebrated the gathering in of the vintage and grain, or their harvest home.

Architecture, in an improved form, was unknown in Rome, until the Tarquins came from Etruria; and the

¹ Ab urbe condita, (from the foundation of the city,) 471, and 282 B. C.

² The only titles of the books of the Etruscans recorded by Roman writers, are, the Libri Fatales, Libri Haruspicinæ, Sacra Acherontia, Fulgurales et Rituales Libri.

works of the kings of that name which still remain, were built in the Etruscan style, with large and regular, but uncemented blocks. The most ancient architectural monuments of Rome were executed by Etruscan artists; they built the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the Circus, and Cloaca Maxima, stupendous structures, which seemed to anticipate the future grandeur of the capital of Italy. Painting was also introduced by the Etruscans, about the middle of the fifth century from the foundation of Rome, by one of the Fabian family, who resided a long time in Etruria, and painted in fresco after his return the interior of the temple of Salus; he transmitted the name of Pictor to his descendants. The art of modelling or sculpture appears, however, to have been that in which the Etruscans chiefly excelled. The statues of the first kings erected at Rome were of their workmanship, as well as that of Horatius Cocles, and the equestrian statue of Clelia. In the year of Rome 489, not fewer than two thousand Etruscan statues, probably little figures in bronze, were carried to that city from Bolsena, which the Romans were accused of having besieged in order to plunder it of these works of art.

However fabulous the stories may be considered of the arrival of Ænotus in the south of Italy; the passage of the Pelasgi from Epirus to the Po, seventeen generations before the Trojan war; or the settlement of the Arcadian Evander in Latium; there is no reason for doubt, that about the commencement of the Roman era, the dissensions of the reigning families in Greece, the public commotions which frequently occurred, suggestions of oracles, and seasons of famine, co-operated in producing an emigration of numerous bodies of adventurers, chiefly Achæans of Peloponnesus, and Dorians, who founded colonies on the coasts of Asia, the Egean islands, and Italy; in the latter country, the Greek emigrants first settled in a southern district, then

known by the name of Japygia, and since denominated Calabria. A serene climate, simplicity of manners, and the energy peculiar to rising communities, soon procured for these colonies an ample degree of prosperity and power. They gradually drove the native inhabitants towards the interior of the country, and formed a political state, which assumed the pompous name of Magna Græcia, an appellation which in time applied to the whole coast which bounds the bay of Tarentum. On that shore, about half a century after the foundation of Rome, arose the flourishing and philosophical town of Crotona, with the voluptuous city of Sybaris. These were consolidated possessions of the Grecian colonies, while they had also scattered villages and castles all along the western coast of the territory which now forms the kingdom of Naples. As in other states a high degree of opulence and prosperity became the precursors of decay, by inducing a general corruption of manners. In the third century of Rome, however, Pythagoras had in some measure succeeded in reforming the licentiousness of morals at Crotona; while the rival city of Sybaris hastened to ruin, amidst licentious indulgence and civil dissension; and though at one time, able, as it is said, but doubtless with gross exaggeration, to bring three hundred thousand soldiers into the field, it fell, after a short struggle under the power of Crotona. The other independent states successively experienced the anarchy of popular revolution, and the rule of despotism. As in the parent states, they had constant dissensions among themselves; these quarrels induced them to call in the assistance of the Sicilians, a step which prepared the way for their subjection to the vigorous but severe sway of the elder Dionysius, and of Agathocles. The most powerful city of the Grecian colonies towards the conclusion of their political existence, and the last formidable rival to the Romans in Italy, was Tarentum, founded about the same time with Sybaris and Crotona. Like the neighbouring states, it was

ruined chiefly through its application for aid to foreign allies. Unsuccessfully defended by Alexander Molossus, oppressed by the Syracusan tyrants, and despoiled by Cleomenes of Sparta, neither the genius of Pyrrhus, nor the power of Carthage were able to preserve it from final subjection to the Roman power.

The Grecian colonies, in their varieties of fortune, had maintained the manners and institutions of the mother country ; a close political connection also subsisted between them ; and about the year 300 of Rome, the Athenians sent to the aid of Sybaris a powerful expedition, which founded the city of Thurium in the immediate vicinity. Such constant intercourse cherished and preserved the literary spirit of the colonies in Magna Græcia. Herodotus, the father of history, and Lysias, whose orations are pure models of simple Attic eloquence, were, in their youth among the original settlers at Thurium. The Eleatic school of philosophy was founded in Magna Græcia, and the impulse which the wisdom of Pythagoras gave to the mind led also to the study of literature. Plato visited Tarentum, in the 406th year of Rome, during the consulship of Lucius Camillus and Appius Claudius ; and Zeuxis was invited from Greece to Crotona, to paint the splendid temple of Juno which had been erected in that city. In short, history and poetry were cultivated with a success honourable to the Grecian name. Accordingly, in A. U. C. 487,¹ when the Romans obtained complete possession of Magna Græcia, by the capture of Tarentum, which offered the last resistance to their arms, they then imbibed a portion of taste and refinement, and began to admire the beautiful creations of Grecian fancy. Many of the victors remained in the conquered country, while numbers of the inhabitants of its cities most distinguished for literary attainments, visited Rome, and made it their place of residence.

¹ 266 B. C.

The first war with the Carthaginians, which commenced 489 years from the foundation of Rome, did not retard the literary influence of those strangers. The previous contests of the Romans were either with neighbouring states, or with barbarous nations, who came to attack them in their own territories, but the war with Carthage was not attended by that immediate and close danger, which is inconsistent with literary leisure. In its prosecution the Romans for the first time carried their arms beyond Italy. Literature, however, was not one of those acquirements in which the western part of Africa abounded, although, with the exception of Greece itself, there was no country where it flourished, and was more appreciated than in Sicily; and that island was the chief scene of the first great struggle between Rome and Carthage. None of the Grecian colonies arrived at such magnificence as Syracuse, founded by the Dorians of Corinth, in the nineteenth year of Rome; and this city had attained the summit of political and literary splendour before the first Carthaginian war commenced. It was there that *Æschylus* passed the concluding years of his life, and wrote, as it is said, his tragedy of the Persians, to gratify Hiero, king of Syracuse, who was desirous to acquire an intimate knowledge of the particulars, and to see a representation of that celebrated war, which the Greeks had waged so successfully against Xerxes. *Epicharmus*, a resident at the same elegant court, was the first who rejected on the stage the ancient mummeries of the satires, and composed dramas on that regular plan reckoned worthy of imitation by *Plautus*. *Dionysius* the tyrant, was also a patron of learning, and a competitor in the fields of literature. *Plato* was the friend of the younger *Dionysius*; and *Theocritus*, with other poets of the Alexandrian School, resided in Sicily, before they partook in Egypt of the munificent patronage of the Ptolemies. Scenic representations were particularly popular in Sicily. Numerous theatres were erected, and the dramatists were loaded with honours. These

theatrical exhibitions which the Roman invaders must have witnessed, with the respect paid to distinguished poets, would naturally give rise to literary emulation. When peace was made between Carthage and Rome, A.U.C. 512, part of Sicily was ceded to the Romans, and the intercourse which consequently arose with the newly-acquired territory, laid the foundation of those studies which were brought to perfection in the course of time, and by direct communication with the states of ancient Greece itself.

Rome, founded according to the vulgar epoch 753 years before the Christian era, was not, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus asserts, a respectable colony, sent forth furnished with every thing needful by a well-regulated state; but was originally founded by a body of outlaws from the cities of Latium, under the guidance of Romulus, a bold, talented, and hardy adventurer. An objection has been made to the statement, that the new city of Rome, or perhaps to speak with propriety we should say, the collection of huts which long constituted that city, was peopled by the forcible abduction of the daughters of their Sabine neighbours. We must not forget, however, that not a very great many years have elapsed since our own consignments to America¹ were partly young females of respectable character, for the purpose of making eligible wives to the planters; and that overlooking the necessity, as well as the propriety of an equalization of the sexes, is one of the most serious drawbacks in our modern attempts at colonization. Now, although the ancients had not the least idea of lighting their streets with gas, navigating their rivers by steam, nor of travelling by railways, still they were gifted with great good sense; they had an acute perception of, and a perfect acquaintance with, all the feelings and passions which actuate the human heart; and they conducted their affairs, particularly those of colonising and conquest, with

¹ Particularly to Virginia.

a degree of judgment unappreciated by the superficial information of the many in modern days. So far from the statement of the carrying away of the Sabine virgins for the honourable purpose of marriage, bearing a fabulous character, it is difficult to imagine a step more calculated, as it actually turned out, to increase the prosperity of the newly-founded city. The whole structure of the constitution of the Roman state, has been, by the generality of authors, ascribed to the abilities of Romulus; this erroneous idea is attributable to the credulous mis-statements of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The truth is, the Roman government, like nearly all others, was the gradual result of circumstances, the fruit of time, and of political emergency.

To discover the first elements of the Latin, or any other language, is certainly no easy task; although the progressive improvement, by copiousness and refinement may not be difficult to point out. The inscriptions which appear on the most ancient monuments, which have been discovered from time to time between the Alps and Calabria, show, that from the time of Etruscan supremacy, there existed an universal language in Italy; which, although varied by dialects, announced a common origin in the inflexions of words, and the form of characters. The language of the Etruscans had been so widely diffused by their conquests, that it became in a great measure the general tongue of Italy; the Latin, Oscan, and Sabine idioms being nearly the same as the Etruscan. From these the early Latin language was formed; the trifling amount of Greek which appears to exist in its composition, came through the above dialects from the few Pelasgi who in very remote periods had intermixed with the Etruscans. Horne Tooke is certainly correct, when he tells us, "It is a great mistake into which Latin etymologists have fallen, to suppose that all the Latin must be found in the Greek; for the fact is otherwise." That there was but little of the Greek lan-

guage incorporated in the Latin during the first ages of the Republic is beyond a doubt, from the circumstance, that Polybius, a Greek historian,¹ and the most learned Romans of his age, were unable to interpret the Latin inscriptions of a former period, which would not have been the case if there had been an admixture of Greek. The difficulty arose from the words of the old Italian dialect occurring instead of the new Greek terms introduced after the capture of Tarentum, and to which the Romans having become habituated, could not understand the language of former generations. Varro has also shown the affinity between the Sabine and Latin languages. That the Oscan resembled the old Latin, is proved from its constant employment in popular dramatic representations at Rome; and from the circumstance, that the words of its relics still remaining, form the root of an equivalent Latin term. Considering this subject with careful investigation, it appears, that the Latin language was a dialect of the Etruscan, subsequently improved and made copious by a large admixture of Greek; which took place after the capture of Tarentum, when the poets and literati of Magna Græcia settled at Rome, and were imitated by the native authors of that city.

The proximity of the Etruscans to the Romans, their respective territories being separated only by the Tiber; the alliance of their leader Cœlius with Romulus, and the habitation assigned to the former on the Cœlian mount; the accession to the Roman throne by the elder Tarquin, originally descended from a Greek family which had fixed its residence in Etruria; the settlement of a number of prisoners from that territory, four years after the expulsion of the kings, in a street called Vicus Tuscus, in the heart of Rome; with the intercourse produced by the long period of warfare and political intrigue which subsisted between the rising republic and their more polished neighbours, before

¹ Who flourished 162 B.C.

they became incorporated into one state, are sufficient to account for the reception of the customs and religious observances of Etruria. Accordingly, we find, that the Romans were indebted to the Etruscans for the robes which invested their magistrates, the pomp that accompanied their triumphs, and the music that animated their legions. The purple vest, the eagle-surmounted sceptre, curule chair, fasces, and lictors, were the ensigns of supreme authority among the Etruscans; while the triumphs and ovations, the combats of gladiators, and Circensian games were common to them, and to the Roman people.

The rustic divinities of Etruria and Latium were likewise the objects of Roman worship, long before the introduction of that elegant mythology, which had been embellished by the conceptions of Homer, and the hand of Phidias. It was not until the Romans were allured by the fine arts of Greece, that the simple traditions of Italian mythology yielded to the alluring fictions of a more polished people. The tolerant spirit of polytheism did not restrict the number of gods, and its priesthood endeavoured to reconcile the discordant systems. Nevertheless, the national religion was in some measure retained; Apollo and Bacchus in particular, continuing to be decorated with the characteristic emblems of Etruria. With the Etruscans, single families, as in the tribe of Levi among the Jews, the Peruvian Incas, and the descendants of Thor and Odin, were depositaries of the secrets and ceremonies of religion; and in the early ages of Rome, a band of patrician youths was sent to Etruria, to be initiated in the mysteries of its religious rites. The constant practice of consulting the gods on all enterprises, public and private, a belief was common to the Tuscan and Roman creeds, that prodigies manifested the will of heaven, denoted by the flight of birds, the entrails of animals, and the occurrence of thunder; that the deities could be appeased, and their vengeance averted, by expia-

tions and sacrifices. The fervent spirit of Etruscan superstition passed in its vigour to the Romans, who owed to its influence much of their valour and patriotism; while Cicero ascribes their political supremacy to it. He says, "The Romans were not superior in numbers to the Spaniards, in strength or courage to the Gauls, in address to the Carthaginians, in tactics to the Macedonians; but we surpass all nations in that wisdom by which we have learned, that all things are governed and directed by the immortal gods."

The literature of the Etruscans, whatever it may have been, certainly had no influence on the progress of learning among the Romans; indeed few nations have been more illiterate than the Romans were, during the first five centuries of their history. It is not difficult to account for such ignorance during the early ages mentioned. The band of adventurers under Romulus, who founded Rome, do not appear to have immediately improved, or been much humanized, by their union with the Sabine damsels, if we are to judge of their civilization by the story of Tarpeia.¹ Numa, it is true, did much for the domestic amelioration of his people; he divided them into classes, impressed their minds with reverence for religion, and encouraged agriculture; but he could not encourage literature, as there was not even a germ of it among his countrymen to be

¹ She was the daughter of Tarpeius, the governor of the citadel at Rome, and promised to open the gates of the city to the Sabines, provided they gave her their gold bracelets; or as she expressed it, what they carried on their left hands. Tatius, the king of the Sabines, consented; and as he entered the gate, to punish her perfidy, he threw not only his bracelet, but also his shield upon Tarpeia. His followers imitated his example, and Tarpeia was crushed to death under their weight. She was buried in the Capitol, which from her took the name of Tarpeian rock, and there afterwards Roman malefactors were cast down the precipice.

fostered. For more than three centuries after his reign, the hostilities of the neighbouring states, and furious irruptions of the Gauls, hardly permitted an idea of rest or tranquillity. The safety of Rome depending on its military preparations, every citizen became a soldier, as a matter of necessity. The wars of a mighty empire, where numerous individuals are not essentially or actively involved in the struggle, do not prevent the study of literature; but in a small state, surrounded with foes, the case is widely different. The enemies of Rome were not only repeatedly at her gates; they were once within her walls, sacked and plundered the city; almost a new era had to be commenced; and while martial alarms thus constantly resounded, no time could be appropriated for literary studies. The exercise of arms, so necessary to preserve the city from total destruction, was continued for the sake of conquest and dominion; the whole pride of the Roman people being placed for ages in valour and military success. On the first formation of their theatre, they were gratified by the address, *Belli duellatores optimi*,¹ “most valiant combatants in war.” Whatever time could be spared from military operations, was devoted to agriculture; indeed a choice was not allowed. The law of Romulus, a natural one for a rude illiterate leader, which consigned as ignominious all sedentary employments to foreigners or slaves, leaving only in choice to citizens and freemen, the arts of agriculture and arms, long continued in respect and observance. According to Dionysius,² Romulus ordered the same persons to exercise the occupations both of husbandmen and soldiers, that they might understand the duty of the former in time of peace, and the latter in time of war. During the above period, the Romans had nothing which can with propriety be termed, or would now be considered poetry; the usual manner in which literature first expands itself among a

¹ Plautus. Captiv. prol. ² His Roman Antiquities, Lib. II.

rude people. The verses which have descended to us, under the denomination of Sybilline oracles are not genuine. The book delivered to Tarquin, believed to contain those ancient oracles, perished amid the conflagration in the Capitol, during the civil wars of Marius and Sylla; even those collected in Greece, and the municipal states of Italy, to supply their place, and deposited in the temple of Apollo, on mount Palatine, were burned by Stilicho, in the reign of the emperor Honorius. We have still extant, however, the hymn sung by the Fratres Arvales, a college of priests, instituted by Romulus, for the purpose of walking in procession through the fields at the commencement of spring, and imploring from the gods a blessing on agriculture. Of a similar description were the rude Saturnian verses ordered by Numa, and chanted by the Salian priests, when they carried through the street the sacred shields, so long considered the palladium of Rome. There were also songs of triumph set to a rude measure, and sung by the soldiers at the ovations of their leaders. However numerous these ballads may have been, they quickly sunk into oblivion under the overpowering influence of the Greek authors, and never formed the ground-work of a polished system of national poetry.

During the first five centuries from the foundation of Rome, the only history which can be given regarding literature consists in the progress and improvement of the Latin language. In the course of these five centuries it was constantly varying from the circumstances, that one of the early and great principles of Roman policy was, incorporating aliens, and admitting them to the rights of citizenship; and that the Latin was only a spoken language, which had not received stability by literary composition, writing being confined to treaties, or short columnar inscriptions; indeed, the fluctuation was so remarkable, even during a short period, that Polybius, mentioning a

treaty concluded between the Carthaginians and Romans, A. U. C. 245, in the consulship of Publius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, states, that the language used in it was so different from the Latin spoken in his time, that the most learned Romans could not interpret it. Of this changeable speech, the earliest specimen extant, and believed to be as ancient as the time of Romulus, is the hymn chanted by the Fratres Arvales above-mentioned; they were called Fratres, owing to the first members of the institution being the sons of Acca Laurentia, the nurse of Romulus. This song, inscribed on a stone, was discovered when opening the foundations of the sacristy at St. Peter's, A.D. 1788. The words of it are as follows:—

“ Enos Lases juvate
 Neve luerve Marmar sinis incurer in pleoris.
 Satur fufere Mars: limen sali sta berber:
 Semones alternei advocapit cunctos,
 Enos Marmor juvate
 Triumpe! Triumpe!”

Different interpretations have been given to these lines, and various alterations suggested in the words.¹ The following, however, will give an idea of the meaning of the verses.

Ye Lares, aid us! Mars, thou god of might!
 From murrain shield the flocks, the flowers from blight.
 For thee, O Mars! a feast shall be prepared;
 Salt, and a wether chosen from the herd;
 Invite, by turn, each demigod of spring—
 Great Mars, assist us! Triumph! Triumph sing!

¹ In the above inscription there are just sixteen letters made use of. At this early period the letter *s* was often substituted for *r*, the final *e* was not commonly added, the dipthong *ei* was employed instead of *i*, and the letter *p*, in words where *f* or *ph* came afterwards to be used. The ancient Romans were careful to avoid a hiatus of vowels; they wrote *sin*, in place of *si in*. Double consonants were not in use till the time of Ennius; accordingly we

The next example of the Latin language is that of the laws of the twelve tables, enacted in the commencement of the fourth century of Rome. These celebrated institutions have come down to us in mutilated fragments, and have been in some measure modernized; still they bear all the marks of antiquity. The Latin writers by whom they were quoted did not perfectly understand them, owing to the change which had taken place in the language; accordingly, Cicero, and the other grammarians who cite them, give the meaning rather than the words of the Decemvirs. The laws themselves are very concise, and possess a fulness of sound from the use of the richer diphthongs *ai* for *æ*, and *ei* for *i*, which we do not find in the modern Latin. The Romans were a people of strong masculine sense; they avoided tautology, and looking to the spirit and intention of their laws, would not permit equity and justice to be frittered away in technicalities;¹ an example which the moderns appear unable to appreciate.

In the two centuries succeeding the enactment of the twelve tables,² we have hardly a vestige remaining of the

find in the old inscriptions *sumas* for *summas*. The Romans were also for a long time unacquainted with the use of aspirates, and were destitute of the *phi* and *chi* sounds of the Greek alphabet; consequently they wrote *triumpe* for *trumphe*, and *pulcer* for *pulcher*.

¹ When Cincinnatus proposed to lead the armies against the Volsci, and the Æqui, the tribunes declared that they would oppose the levy of the troops. The consul replied, that the citizens when they took up arms, swore not to lay them down until permitted by the consuls. The tribunes objected, that when the oath was taken Cincinnatus was a private man. Here was a specimen of ancient technicality: the Roman people, however, at that period more conscientious than their magistrates, regarded the objection as not an honourable one, and returned to their banners.

² By a decree of the senate, and an order of the people, in the year of the city 302, and 451 B. C., three ambassadors, Posthumus,

Latin language. At the end of that long period, and during the first Punic war, a celebrated inscription still extant recorded the naval victory gained by the consul Duillius, in 492, over the Carthaginians. The column on which it was engraved, so famous by the title of *Columna Rostrata*, was, according to Livy, struck down by lightning, between the second and third Punic wars. It continued buried among the ruins of Rome till 1565, when its base, containing the inscription somewhat defaced, was dug up in the vicinity of the Capitol. There are also two inscriptions extant, engraved on the tombstones of Lucius Scipio Barbatus, and his son Lucius Scipio; the former rather prior, and the latter a year subsequent to the Duillian inscription. The epitaph on that of Barbatus was found in 1780, in the vault of the Scipian family, between the Via Appia and the Via Latina; and the other had been discovered long before, on a slab lying near the Porta Capena, having been detached from the family tomb. The Eugubian tables,¹ five of which were in the Etruscan characters, and the other two in Roman letters, have been already mentioned.

Sulpicius, and Manlius, were sent to Athens to copy the laws of Solon, which he had given to the Athenians about 600 B. C. At the same time, they were directed to inquire into the religion, institutions, and customs of that, and the other states of Greece. Having done so, they returned in about a year, bringing home a body of laws; upon which ten men (*decemviri*) were appointed from among the patricians, to draw up a body of written laws (*legibus scribendis*). When this work was completed, they proposed ten tables of laws, which were ratified by the people at the Comitia Centuriata, to which two tables were shortly added; and the laws of the twelve tables (*leges duodecim tabularum*), after being engraved on brass and fixed up in public, about 450 B. C., continued to be the foundation of public and private rights throughout the whole Roman world.

¹ It was from these Eugubian tables, that the alphabet of the Etruscans was discovered in modern times. In 1732 M. Bourguet, of France, by comparing the letters in the Roman tables with those

On comparing the Duillian and Scipian inscriptions, it does not appear that the Roman language, with all its variations, had either improved, or approached much nearer to modern Latin than in the age of the kings. Short as the laws and inscriptions are, they still enable us to draw important conclusions regarding the state of the language during a long period, up to 494 years from the foundation of Rome, and 259 B.C. Immediately after this epoch, Latin became a written literary language; and although the diphthongs *ai* and *ei*, were retained for upwards of a century longer, the language became enriched by so large an admixture of Greek, that although inferior to that tongue in ease, perspicuity, and copiousness, it at length became its rival in dignity of enunciation, and in a loftiness of accent, which harmonized so well with that grandeur of character peculiar to the people by whom it was uttered. It is towards the end of the fifth, and the beginning of the sixth century from the foundation of Rome, that we find among its people the earliest examples of literature. Poetry, as with other nations, was the first of the liberal arts cultivated, and dramatic poetry from the school of Greece, was the earliest preferred. The advancement of literature became now progressive, till it reached its climax in the time of Julius Cæsar, and during the reign of the emperor Augustus, forming the second or Roman age of learning, when flourished the poets Catullus, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid. The historians Sallust, Cæsar, and Livy; Cicero the orator, Vitruvius the architect, and several others.

in the Etruscan character, found that the former were a compendium of the latter, and that many words in the one corresponded with those in the other. Having obtained this key, he was enabled, by comparing word with word, and letter with letter, to form an alphabet.

CHAPTER VI.

DRAMATIC POETRY OF THE ROMANS.

LIVIVS ANDRONICUS, ENNIUS, PLAUTUS, CÆCILIVS, AND
TERENCE—ILLUSTRATIONS.

The poetical tendency of the Roman people was not sufficiently strong in their early ages to produce any remarkable works; far less a poem which could bear the most distant comparison with the *Iliad*. We have seen, however, that they were not entirely without early poetry. The songs of the Arvales, of the Salian priests, the Fescennine and Saturnine verses, and the Atellane fables, are proofs of the contrary, while they exhibit the bad taste and rudeness of the nation; it was not until a full development of character had taken place, that their own poetry arrived at excellence. The Romans, from the circumstances previously mentioned, became an imitative people; free to choose, they copied the model which suited their fancy. Thus, in Greece, the lyre, not reckoning from Orpheus, but from Tyrtæus,¹ was strung two hundred years before Æschylus² had spoken from the stage; while in Rome, the more complicated art of the drama preceded by the same space of time, the simpler strains of Lyric poetry.

In the year 392 from the building of Rome, the city being afflicted with a pestilence, and the senate having exhausted without effect their superstitious ceremonies, decreed that histrions or players should be summoned from Etruria, to appease the anger of the gods by scenic representations. These chiefly consisted in rude dances and pantomimic gesticulations performed to the sound of the flute. It is supposed that the pantomime represented a connected plot or story, but of what kind is entirely unknown. This

¹ 684 B. C.

² 486 B. C.

curious sort of expiation, which can only be accounted for in the belief of the Greeks, that the gods understood and liked fun better than men, and that kind feelings might be induced after their sides had been well shaken with laughter at the drollery of the performances; if not correct regarding their deities, at all events attracted the fancy of the Roman youth, who not only imitated the Etruscan actors, but improved on the entertainment by rallying each other in extemporaneous and jocular lines.¹ This by some has been looked upon as a dawning of the drama, as the characters are supposed to have borne a resemblance to the Harlequin and Scaramouch of the Italian farces. Dramatic literature, however, does not begin till the time of

Livius Andronicus, who flourished 240 B. C.

He was a native of Magna Græcia, and the first who established at Rome a regular theatre, and connected a dramatic fable free from the ballet, melodrama, and mummeries of the ancient satires. According to Tiraboschi, Livius was made a captive, and brought to Rome A. U. C. 487, when his country was finally subdued by the Romans. It is believed that he there became the slave, but afterwards the freedman of Livius Salinator, from whom he derived one of his names. The exact period of his death is uncertain, although supposed to have taken place in the year of the city 534,—219 B. C. The earliest play of Livius was represented in 513 or 514 A. U. C., about a year after the conclusion of the first Punic war. Like Thespis, and other dramatists in the beginning of the theatric art, Livius was an actor, and for a time the sole performer in his own pieces. Afterwards, his voice failing, in consequence of the audience calling for a repetition of favourite passages, he introduced a boy, who relieved him by declaiming the recitative part in concert with the flute; while he himself executed the

¹ This subject will be mentioned at length in the next chapter.

corresponding gesticulations in the monologues, and in parts where much exertion was required, only employing his own voice in the conversational and less elevated scenes. It was observed, that the action of Livius grew more lively and animated, because he had only to exert his strength in gesticulation, while another had the care and labour of pronouncing. "Hence," says Livy, "the practice arose of dividing the representation between two actors, and of reciting, as it were, to the gesture and acting of the comedian. Thenceforth the custom so far prevailed, that the comedians never pronounced anything except the verses of the dialogues." This system, which we might think would destroy the theatric illusion, continued, under certain modifications, on the Roman stage during the most refined periods of taste and literature. The popularity of Livius increasing, a building was assigned to him on the Aventine mount, which was partly converted into a theatre, and also inhabited by a troop of players for whom he wrote his pieces, occasionally acting along with them.

It is uncertain, whether the first drama represented by Livius Andronicus was a tragedy, or a comedy. Be this as it may, it appears, from the names which have been preserved of his plays, that he wrote both tragedies and comedies; they are, Achilles, Adonis, Ægisthus, Ajax, Andromeda, Antiopa, Centauri, Equus Trojanus, Helena, Hermione, Ino, Lydius, Protesilaodamia, Serenus, Tereus, Teucer, and Virgo. These names evince that most of his dramas were translations, or imitations from the works of his own countrymen, or from the great tragedians of Greece. Excepting the titles, there is little remaining to us of the dramas of Livius. The longest sentence in connection which has been preserved, is four lines from the tragedy of Ino, forming part of a hymn to Diana, recited by the chorus, and containing an animated exhortation to a party about to proceed to the chase.

“ Et jam purpureo suras include cothurno,
Baltheus et revocet volucres in pectore sinus;
Pressaque jam gravida crepitent tibi terga pharetra:
Dirige odorisequos ad cæca cubilia canes.”

“ Let the red buskin now your limbs invest,
And the loose robe be belted to your breast;
The rattling quiver let your shoulders bear:
Throw off the hounds which scent the secret lair.”

The polish of the above Latin has led to a doubt as to its being the production of a period so early as that of Livius. Cicero has given an unfavourable opinion of his writings, declaring that they were scarcely deserving a second perusal; it is certain, however, that they long continued popular in Rome, and were read by the youth in schools even during the Augustan age of poetry.

There is great praise due to the memory of Livius Andronicus, as the inventor of a species of poetry among the Romans, afterwards carried by them to a high degree of perfection. He also translated the *Odyssey* into Latin; and by so doing, adopted the best means to foster and improve the infant literature of that nation, by presenting it with an image of pure and perfect taste, united with those strange and romantic adventures, best calculated to attract the interest of a half civilized people. From the era in which the dramatic productions of Livius appeared, theatrical representations became an object of particular care. The regular drama founded on that of *Magna Græcia*, and Sicily, was divided into tragedy and comedy, becoming the province of professional authors and players. Livius was followed by

Ennius, who flourished 210 B. C.

This poet, who has been styled the father of Roman song, was a native of *Rudiæ*, a town of Calabria; he was born about the year of Rome 515. In his youth he went to Sar-

dinia ; and, according to Aurelius Victor, he taught Greek in that island. In 550 he was brought to Rome by Cato the censor, who visited Sardinia, on returning as questor from Africa ; he fixed his residence on the Aventine hill, and partly employed his time in instructing the sons of the nobility in Greek, and was so fortunate as to acquire the friendship of many of the most illustrious men in the state. In 569, having distinguished himself in arms, as well as in letters, the freedom of the city of Rome was granted to him. He was also protected by Scipio Africanus, and in his old age obtained the friendship of Scipio Nasica. Ennius is stated to have been intemperate in drinking, which brought on the gout ; of which he died, just after he had exhibited his tragedy of Thyestes, aged seventy, in the year of Rome 585. The honours due to his talents were, as is often the case, reserved till after his death, when a bust of him was erected in the family tomb of the Scipios, who, till the time of Sylla, continued the unusual practice of burying, instead of burning their dead. In the days of Livy his bust still remained near that sepulchre, beyond the porta Capena, along with the statues of Africanus, and Scipio Asiaticus. There is still extant an epitaph, reported to have been written by himself, exhibiting rather a high opinion of his own abilities. It is as follows—

“ Romans, the form of Ennius here behold,
Who sung your fathers' matchless deeds of old.
My fate let no lament, nor tear deplore,
I live in fame although I breathe no more.”

From the fragments of the works of Ennius which still remain, it is evident, that he greatly surpassed his predecessor, not only in poetical genius, but also in the art of versification. In his time the best models of Greek composition had begun to be studied. He particularly professed to imitate Homer, and endeavoured to persuade the

Romans that the soul and genius of that immortal poet had revived in him, through the medium of a peacock ; agreeably to the process of Pythagorean transmigration. Accordingly we find in his works numerous imitations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, although he principally copied from the Greek tragic authors ; and it appears, by the fragments which remain to us, that his plays were rather translations from the dramas of Sophocles and Euripides, on the same subjects which he has selected, than original pieces.

Achilles.—Is the first of the plays of Ennius in alphabetical order, only seven lines of it remain ; there were many Greek tragedies on the story of Achilles, the one from which he copied is uncertain. *Ajax*.—This tragedy by Sophocles was the one from which he translated. *Alcmæon*.—Taken from a tragedy of Euripides. *Alexander (Paris)*.—The plot of this play turns on the destruction of Troy ; the passages which still remain are a divine admonition to Priam on the crimes of his son, Paris ; a lamentation for the death of Hector, and a prediction of Cassandra, regarding the wooden horse. *Andromache*.—It is uncertain from what Greek writer this play was taken. It was founded on the melancholy story of Andromache, who fell with other Trojan captives to the share of Neoptolemus, and beheld her only son Astyanax torn from her arms to be precipitated from the summit of a tower, in compliance with the directions of an oracle. Amongst the fragments of this tragedy, there is one of the longest passages extant of the writings of Ennius, containing a pathetic lamentation of Andromache for the fall and conflagration of Troy, with a comparison between its smoking ruins, and former magnificence.

“ Where shall I refuge seek, or aid obtain ?
 In flight, or exile can I safety gain ?
 Our city sack'd—even scorch'd the walls of stone,
 Our fanes consumed, and altars all o'erthrown.

O father—country ! Priam's ruin'd home ;
 O hallow'd temple, with resounding dome,
 And vaulted roof, with flaming gold illumed
 All now, alas ! these eyes have seen consumed :
 Have seen the foe shed royal Priam's blood,
 And stain Jove's altar with the crimson flood."

Andromache Molotto, so called from Molottus, the son of Neoptolemus and Andromache, is translated from the *Andromache* of Euripides. *Andromeda*, a version of the tragedy of Euripides. *Athamas*, has only one short fragment extant. *Cresphontes*.—Merope, supposing that her son Cresphontes had been killed by a person brought before her, discovers, when about to punish him, that instead of being the murderer, he is Cresphontes himself. *Dulorestes*.—Of this there is only one line remaining. *Erectheus*.—Taken from a tragedy of the same name by Euripides. *Eumenides*.—From the play of Æschylus. *Hectoris Lytris vel Lustra*.—On the redemption from Achilles, by Priam, of the body of his son Hector. *Hecuba*.—A version of the tragedy of Euripides. *Iliona sive Polydorus*.—During the siege of Troy, Priam intrusted his son Polydore to the care of Polymnestor, king of Thrace, married to Iliona one of his daughters ; that monarch, however, instead of affording his guest protection, killed him, in order to seize the treasures which had been sent with him. The only passage extant, is one, in which the shade of Polydore, calls on Hecuba to arise, and bury her murdered son. *Iphigenia*.—Taken from that of Euripides. When the same subjects were treated by Sophocles and Euripides, Ennius usually translated from the writings of the latter. *Medea*.—From the tragedy of Euripides. This was a popular drama at Rome, and considered one of the best productions of Ennius. Medea was the heroine of not less than four epic poems ; and was more frequently dramatized by the Latin poets, from the romantic interest of its subject, than any other fable of Grecian antiquity.

Phoenix.—It is supposed to relate to the preceptor of Achilles, who accompanied him to the Trojan war; but quite uncertain. *Telamon*.—There is no Greek original of this play known. It appears to be a representation of the misfortunes of Telamon, the father of Ajax and Teucer, towards the concluding part of his life, when he has heard of the death of the former, and the exile of the latter. From the fragments which remain, it is believed to be the finest drama of Ennius. The sentiment of Anaxagoras, he thus happily versifies, and puts into the mouth of Telamon, when he hears of the death of Ajax.

“I rear’d him, subject to death’s equal laws,
And when to Troy I sent him in our cause,
I knew I urged him, into mortal fight,
And not to feasts or banquets of delight.”

This poet being a native of Magna Græcia, apparently held the Tuscan soothsayers and diviners in utter contempt. The following passage is cited by grammarians as from this tragedy, although supposed to belong to his satires.

“For no Marsian augur (whom fools view with awe)
Nor diviner, nor star-gazer, care I a straw;
The Egyptian quack, an expounder of dreams,
Is neither in science nor art what he seems;
Superstitious and shameless, they prowl through our streets,
Some hungry, some crazy, but all of them cheats.
Impostors! who vaunt what to others they’ll show,
A path which themselves neither travel nor know.
Since they promise us wealth, if we pay for their pains,
Let them take from that wealth, and bestow what remains.”

The sarcasm of the last lines, was doubtless only equalled by its truth. In another passage supposed to be put in the mouth of one suffering under the stroke of recent calamity, there is a spirit of free thinking, hardly to be expected.

“ Yes ! there are gods ; but they no thought bestow
On human deeds—or mortal bliss, or woe ;
Else would such ills our wretched race assail ?
Would the good suffer ? Would the bad prevail ? ”

Telephus.—An exile from his kingdom, wandering about in rags and destitution, is supposed to be taken from a lost play of Euripides. *Thyestes*.—From the shocking subject of the supper of Thyestes ; is blamed as a tame prosaic tragedy, scarcely rising above the level of ordinary conversation ; it was, however, popular in Rome, and continued to be occasionally represented, till Varius took up the same subject, and according to Quintilian treated it in a manner worthy of the ancient Greeks.

As a poet and an author, Ennius appears to have little claim to originality or invention. Powerful and talented as his genius undoubtedly was, it seems difficult to give a reason why he did not write dramas of his own composition, rather than copy from the Greeks ; probably the best explanation may be, that where borrowing will answer equally well, new works are seldom invented : while, at the period this poet flourished, the productions of Grecian literature were as new to the Romans as an original composition, and much trouble was unquestionably saved to the author. The example however was unfortunate, as it gave to Roman literature a character of servility, and imitation of the Greek, which so entirely pervaded it, that succeeding poets were considered faultless when they copied most closely, and after they abandoned this system, they fell into declamation and extravagance. Ennius, who introduced satirical composition into Rome, is here charged with the same fault of imitation. He adapted the Tuscan and Oscan satires to the closet, by refining their coarseness, softening their asperity, and introducing raillery from the works of the Greek poets, with which he was familiar ; but the fragments

which remain of his satires are too short and broken to allow of a decided opinion being formed.

A great work of Ennius, and of which there are considerable remains, was his *Annals*, or *Metrical Chronicles*, in celebration of Roman exploits from the earliest periods to the conclusion of the Istrian war. These *Annals* were written by the poet in his old age. Aulus Gellius tells us, on the authority of Varro, that the twelfth book¹ was finished by him in his sixty-seventh year. They were partly founded on the ancient traditions, and old heroic ballads, which Cicero mentions as having been sung at feasts in praise of Roman heroes, many centuries before the age of Cato. Ennius commences his *Annals* with an invocation to the Muses, and an account of a vision in which Homer appeared to him, and favoured him with the grant of his poetical spirit, as already mentioned. He then invokes a number of the gods, and proceeds to the history of the Alban kings; the dream of the vestal virgin Ilia, which announced her pregnancy by Mars, the deity of war; and the foundation of Rome. The reigns of the kings, and the contests of the Republic, with the neighbouring states, anterior to the Punic war, occupy the metrical annals to the end of the sixth book, which concludes with the following magnanimous answer of Pyrrhus to the Roman Ambassadors, when they came to ransom their prisoners taken by this prince in battle.

“ No gift I seek, nor shall ye ransom yield ;
Let us not trade but combat in the field.
Steel and not gold, our being must maintain,
And prove which nation Fortune wills to reign.
Whom chance of war, despite of valour, spared,
I grant them freedom, and without reward.
Conduct them then, by all the mighty gods !
Conduct them freely to their own abodes.”

¹ This work was not separated by Ennius himself into books, but was so divided long after his death by the grammarian Q. Vargunteius.

The character of the friend, and adviser of Servilius, in the seventh book, is supposed to be intended as a portrait of the poet himself.

“ His friend he call'd, who at his table far'd,
And all his counsels—and his converse shar'd ;
With whom he oft consum'd the day's decline
In talk of petty schemes, or great design ;
To him, with ease and freedom uncontroll'd,
His jests and thoughts, or good or ill, were told ;
Whate'er concern'd his fortune was disclos'd,
And safely in that faithful breast repos'd :
This chosen friend possess'd a stedfast mind,
Where no base purpose could its harbour find ;
Mild, courteous, learn'd, with knowledge blest, and sense ;
A soul serene, contentment, eloquence,
Fluent in words, or sparing, well he knew
All things to speak in place, and season due ;
His mind was amply grac'd with ancient lore,
Nor less enrich'd with modern wisdom's store.”

The eighth and ninth books which are greatly mutilated, detail the events of the second Carthaginian war in Italy and Africa. This must have been an interesting part of the copious subject which Ennius had chosen, as he would doubtless exert the force of his genius, in honour of his friend and patron, Scipio Africanus. The same subject was chosen by Silius Italicus, and by Petrarch for his Latin poem *Africa*, which obtained him a coronation in the Capitol. The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth books, are on the war with Philip of Macedon; the thirteenth begins with Hannibal exciting Antiochus to a war against the Romans; in the fourteenth, the Consul Scipio, in the prosecution of this contest, arrives at Illium; the fifteenth gives an account of the expedition of Fulvius Nobilior to *Ætolia*, which Ennius himself is said to have accompanied; in the sixteenth and seventeenth, he prosecutes the Istrian war;

and the last, or eighteenth book, appears in a great degree personal to the poet himself. It explains his motive for writing, and compares him to a courser at rest, after his triumphs in the Olympic games.

“Even as the gen’rous steed, whose youthful force
Was oft victorious in the Olympic course,
Unfit, from age, to triumph in such fields,
At length to rest his time-worn members yields.”

Connected with these annals, there is a poem by Ennius, in celebration of the exploits of Scipio; and Horace in one of his Odes, expresses a high sense of the honour which had been conferred on Scipio, by this poem, part of which is finely modulated, and enriched with beautiful imagery. These annals as a national work, were highly gratifying to the proud ambition of the Roman people; they continued long popular, being relished in the days of Horace and Virgil, and recited in theatres, and public places for the amusement of the Romans, so late as the reign of Marcus Aurelius. From this example, the historical epic became in the subsequent ages the great poetical resource of the Roman poets, who versified in that style nearly every important event in their history. Another poem of Ennius, named *Epicharmus*, was so called, because it was translated from the Greek work of *Epicharmus*, the Pythagorean, on the nature of things: Plato gave the name of *Timæus*, on the same principle, to the book which he translated from *Timæus* the Locrian. The fragments of it, however, are so broken and altered, that it becomes impossible to offer an opinion on its plan, or the system of philosophy inculcated. Although the compositions of this poet appear to have been principally, if not altogether formed on Greek originals, still he has neither been so fortunate in his selections, nor availed himself so successfully of these writings, as Virgil has done of the works of Ennius. The prince of the Latin poets, not only condescended to imitate long passages, but

also copied whole lines from the father of Roman song. Lucretius, Ovid, Statius, and Terence, have also availed themselves of the works of Ennius.¹ The lines imitated, however, by Virgil, and other poets, are favourable specimens of the taste and genius of our poet; many of his verses being harsh and defective in their construction, and others prosaic and deformed. To conclude, the writings of Ennius have much interest, as the early fruits of that poetry which afterwards ripened to such perfection. The dramatic career now fully commenced, was successfully prosecuted by

Plautus, who flourished 200 B.C.

He was the son of a freedman, and born in Sarsina, a town of Umbria, about A.U.C. 525. This he himself intimates in his *Mostellaria*.² He was called Plautus from his splay feet, an inelegance common to the Umbrians. Having turned his attention to the stage, the wit and humour of his writings soon made his dramas popular; and he acquired a considerable fortune, which he is said to have dissipated in splendid theatrical dresses to wear as an actor. He became reduced to extreme poverty, and was obliged to earn a livelihood by entering the service of a baker, and grinding flour at one of those mills turned by the hand. In this laborious employment, and under such unfavourable circumstances, several of his plays were written. Of his dramas, according to the opinion of the learned Lucius Ælius, originally twenty-five in number, twenty have come down to us. Plautus died in the prime of life, 182 B.C.

In his comedies, this poet, equally with his predecessors, availed himself of the writings of the ancient Greeks. The

¹ The following lines by Ennius have been imitated by numerous poets, both ancient and modern.

“The Olympian father smil’d; and for a while
Nature’s calm’d elements return’d the smile.”

² Act III. Scene 2.

old Grecian comedy has already been described,¹ and the Latin imitations added little to its variety of character. The plots were commonly made up of the following personages; a little girl carried off, or wandering from her parents, brought back unknown to the city; some one or other finds a little box or cabinet which was carried away with her; and so after a lapse of years discovers her friends; unless anticipated by one of the gods, coming down in a machine, and taking the merit of it to himself. An old father, who would willingly before he died see his son well married; a dissipated son, kind in his nature, but miserably in want of money; a servant or slave, who falls into his plans, and helps him to dupe his father; a braggadocio captain, a parasite, and a lady of pleasure. As for the poor girl, on whom the story is built, instead of being one of the chief actors, she is generally mute in the play, or only occasionally heard, and not seen; the severity of the *comædia palliata*, only permitting young gentlewomen to be introduced in the way of invocations behind the scenes. Under pretence of zeal for the welfare of the state, the Greek comic authors spared no part of the public character, revenues, judicial proceedings, popular assemblies, or warlike enterprises; such exposure was a restraint on the ambition of individuals, and considered a matter of importance to a people, so jealous of their liberties. The first state² in Greece became the subject of merriment and ridicule. The body of the people, being represented in a play, under the allegorical personage of an old doating driveller, and the sarcastic pleasantry, was not only allowed, but enjoyed by the members of that state itself. Such license, however, was entirely foreign to the aristocratic government and pride of the Romans. The reverence and affection which they entertained for every thing that exalted the honour of their country, with their acute sensibility to its slightest disgrace, interdicted

¹ Vol. I, page 224. ² Athens.

exhibitions, in which its glory might be humbled, and its misfortunes held up to mockery. The disposition which induced them to return thanks to Varro after the disastrous battle of Cannæ, that he had not despaired of the Republic, was in a far more dignified and patriotic spirit than the temper which induced such contumelious laughter at Nicias, and the promoters of the Spartan war. When the Romans were seriously offended, they had recourse to the Tarpeian rock, and not to the stage, as the proper place for vengeance and punishment. Plautus accordingly found it prudent to imitate the style of the new comedy, brought to perfection by Menander about half a century before his birth; by which he obtained the applause, and avoided the serious risk of incurring the anger of the Roman people. In borrowing from the Greeks, he did not, like modern comic authors, conceal his plagiarisms by varying the names of his characters, the scene of action, and other circumstances, while the substance of the drama remained the same; on the contrary, he carefully preserved every thing which tended to give his piece a Grecian air.¹

Amphitryon.—This is the first of the plays of Plautus, agreeably to the alphabetic order in which they are usually arranged. It is uncertain from what Greek author it was taken. Schlegel is of opinion, that it was copied from one of Epicharmus the Sicilian,² who frequently borrowed from mythology; which continued to occupy the scenes of the middle comedy till the new was introduced, in which the sphere of action was confined to the representation of domestic life. Euripides is said to have written an *Amphitryon*. It is not unlikely that the serious

¹ In his prologue to *Amphitryon*, he says plainly,

“ I shall present you with an ancient tale,
Set forth in Greek, now in the Latin tongue.”

² He flourished 440 B.C.

parts may have been copied from the *Alcmena* of that author. In the prologue to *Amphitryon*, Plautus calls it a tragi-comedy; not that there is any thing tragical in the subject, but probably because it is of a mixed kind, in which the highest and lowest characters are introduced. The plot is founded on the well-known mythological incident of Jupiter assuming the appearance of *Amphitryon*, general of the Thebans, during his absence, and imposing on his wife *Alcmena*. Personal resemblances are a fertile subject for comic incidents, and many nations have had their *Amphitryon*. The piece opens while Jupiter is supposed to be with the object of his love. *Sosia*, the servant who had been sent on before his master from the port, to announce his victory, and arrival, is introduced on the stage, going towards the palace of *Amphitryon*. As he is expressing astonishment at the length of the night, lengthened purposely by Jupiter, he is met by *Mercury*, who has assumed his form, and who by blows, threats, and leading him to doubt his own identity, succeeds in driving him away; which gives Jupiter time to prosecute his amour, and he departs in the morning. The improbable story told by *Sosia* to his master is not believed, who himself now advances towards the house, from which *Alcmena* comes forth, regretting the departure of her supposed husband; on meeting *Amphitryon*, she expresses her surprise at his immediate return. The jealousy of *Amphitryon* becomes roused, and he leaves the stage to bring evidence that he had not till that time quitted the army. Jupiter returns in the meanwhile, and *Amphitryon* is afterwards refused admittance to his own house by *Mercury*, who pretends not to know him. At length Jupiter and *Amphitryon* are confronted, and successively questioned as to the events of the late war, by the pilot of the ship which brought back the latter. The king of the gods of course stands this test of identity; and the true *Amphitryon* is wrought up to such a pitch of anger and despair, that he determines to inflict vengeance on the whole of his family,

and is provoked to talk in a very unorthodox manner, setting the gods at defiance; for which he is struck down by lightning, in a tremendous storm, that closes the fourth act. Bromia, the attendant of Alcmena, rushing from the house, terrified at the tempest which has come on, finds Amphitryon lying prostrate on the ground; on his recovery she announces to him, that during the storm his wife had given birth to twins. Jupiter then appears and reveals the mystery, and Amphitryon is flattered by the honour which has been conferred upon him.—

Amph. “I now repent me, an’ it pleases him,
To share a part with Jove in any good.
Go home, and see the vessels be prepar’d
For sacrifice forthwith, that I may make
My peace with Jove, by offering many victims.”

In this drama the jealousy, anger, and astonishment of Amphitryon are well portrayed. The character of Alcmena is finely drawn: she is represented as an affectionate and amiable woman, simple and innocent; although distressed by suspicions of her husband, she readily forgives him, and becomes reconciled. This play was usually performed at the festival of Jupiter Optimus Maximus; and it will be allowed was rather a strange situation in which to place the king of the gods, and scarcely calculated to improve female chastity and virtue.

The imitations of this drama have been numerous. The most celebrated of them is the *Amphitryon* of Moliere, who has treated with delicacy a subject not in itself the most decorous. He has generally followed the steps of the Roman author, but where he has departed from them he is considered to have improved on the original. He has added the part of Cleanthes, the wife of Sosia; and this new character leads to an amusing scene between her and Mercury, Jupiter’s attendant, who is not grateful for the caresses

of his antiquated charmer. Moliere has given a different shade to the character of Jupiter, making him more of a lover than a husband; the king of the gods pays Alcmena so many gallant compliments, that she exclaims—

“ Amphytryon, in truth,
You mock me to use this language!”

This play by Moliere was published in 1688; so that Dryden, who also made an imitation, had an opportunity of studying it; but he is considered to have done the Roman author less justice than his predecessor, and to have substituted ribaldry in the lower characters, and bombast in the higher. Lodovico Dolce has likewise imitated this play in his *Marito*, transporting the scene from Thebes to Padua, and assigning the parts of Jupiter and Amphytryon to Muzio and Fabrizio, two Italian citizens, so similar in appearance, that the lady, though a sensible and modest woman, is deceived during her husband's absence by the resemblance, joined to the still more marvellous likeness of their domestics. Instead of Jupiter appearing in the clouds and justifying Alcmena, the Italian writer has introduced a monk, called Fra Girolamo, who is bribed to persuade the weak husband that a ghost or spirit had one night transported him to Padua in his sleep, thus accounting for the interesting situation in which he finds his wife on his return. In the version by Rotrou, who is looked upon as the father of the legitimate French drama, these absurdities have been avoided. In his comedy, called *Les Deux Sosies*, framed on that of Plautus, he puts the prologue into the mouth of Juno, who declaims against her rivals, and enumerates the labours she has in store for the son of Alcmena. The manner in which the same subject has been treated on the different stages, distinctly marks their state of refinement. In Moliere we have the elegant politeness of the court of Louis XIV; in Dryden the coarse libertinism of the reign of Charles II; and in L. Dolce the intrigues

of the Italians, with the constant interposition of priests and confessors in domestic affairs.

Asinaria, "The Ass-dealer"—Is a translation from Demophilus,¹ a Greek writer of the middle comedy, and contemporary with Menander. The subject is, a trick put upon an ass-dealer by two roguish slaves, to obtain the money which he has received in payment of asses he had purchased from their master, that they may supply with it the extravagance of their master's son. The father, however, is not the dupe but the confederate in the plot, which is principally devised against his wife, who having brought her husband a fortune, imperiously governed his house and family. With the aid of the money, the youth recovers possession of his mercenary mistress, from whom he had been excluded by a wealthier rival. The father stipulates as a reward, that he should have a share in the favours of his son's mistress; and the play concludes with the dissipated old gentleman being caught by his wife carousing at a nocturnal banquet, a wreath of flowers on his head, with his son, and the lady of pleasure. This comedy, unquestionably exceptionable in point of morals, possesses great comic vivacity, and interest of character. The courtesan and slaves are drawn with spirit, and the greedy rapaciousness of disposition exhibited by the female dealer in slave girls is ably developed. It is rather a curious circumstance, that this, not the most moral comedy, should have been frequently acted in the Italian convents; in 1514 a translation of it in terza rima was represented in the monastery of St. Stefano at Venice. It has not been often imitated by modern authors; Moliere, however, in his character of Henriette, in

'Twas written by Demophilus,
Plautus translates it into Latin; and
By your good leave, would call it *Asinaria*.
There's in this piece both pleasantry and wit.
'Twill make you laugh."

the Femmes Savantes, has copied the advice which Cleæreta gives to a gallant in the third scene of the first act of the *Asinaria*.

The Miser.¹—There is no failing of our nature which has been more often attacked by moralists, or ridiculed on the stage, than that of avarice; and in this drama of Plautus, the character is highly entertaining, and well supported. The prologue is spoken by the Lar Familiaris, “the household god;” and as the play has its origin in the discovery of a treasure concealed under the hearth, the introduction of this being was a happy one. The Lar discloses the long concealed treasure as a reward for the piety of Euclio’s daughter, who presented him with offerings of wine, frankincense, and wreaths of flowers; without the supernatural interposition of a deity, the audience could not have been made acquainted either with the precious deposit, or other particular and private circumstances regarding the miser’s family. Euclio having found the treasure, employs himself in guarding it, and lives in continual apprehension lest it should be discovered that he has so much money in his possession. Accordingly, his first appearance on the stage, exhibits him driving out the servant Staphila, lest she should be a spy on him whilst visiting his hoard. After giving injunctions for the strictest economy, he leaves home on an errand very cleverly conceived, to attend a public distribution of money for the poor. Megadorus now makes a proposal for his daughter, and Euclio supposes that he has discovered something regarding his newly-found wealth; but on his offering to take her without a portion, he is satisfied, and consents. Aware of the disposition of his intended father-in-law, Megadorus sends provisions to his house, and cooks to prepare the marriage feast; the miser, however,

¹ The title of this play in the original is *Aulularia*, from *Aula*, the diminutive of which is *Aulula*, signifying a pot in which the treasure was kept when found by Euclio.

turns them away, and keeps what they had brought. The alarm and anxiety of Euclio about his treasure, rise to such a height, that he hides the gold in a grove consecrated to Sylvanus, a little beyond the walls of the city; and while doing so, he is watched by a slave, Strobilus, belonging to a young man, Lyconides, nephew to Megadorus, a lover of the miser's daughter, and to whom she had granted her favours. Euclio, going to enjoy a sight of his gold, finds that it is stolen; and returning home in despair is met by the young lover, who, hearing of the intended nuptials between his uncle and the miser's daughter, begs pardon for his previous conduct, and offers the reparation of marriage. The constant uneasiness of Euclio in concealing his gold in many different places; his alarm on seeing the preparations for the feast, lest the wine sent to him should be meant to intoxicate, that he might be robbed with greater facility; and when in despair at his loss, his dilemma at the expense of a rope to hang himself, are all admirable traits of the absorbing passion of avarice to which he had become habitually addicted.

*Prologue of Introduction to the Audience, spoken by the
Lar Familiaris.*

“Lest any one should wonder who I am,
I'll tell you in few words.—I am the god
Domestic of this family, from whence
Ye saw me come. It now is many years
Since I've possess'd this house, protecting it
Both in the grandfather's and father's time
Of him who now inhabits it. The grandfather,
Unknown to every one, intrusted me
With a rare treasure, all of gold; for this
He dug a hiding-place beneath the hearth,¹
Beseeching me with prayers to keep it for him.

¹ The hearth, *in medio foco*, in the middle of the house.

He died, and was withal so covetous
 He would not even tell it to his son,
 But rather chose to leave him indigent
 Than show him this same treasure. On his death
 He left his son a piece of ground, from whence
 He might pick up a piteous livelihood,
 With industry and labour. Now when he
 Was dead, who with this gold had trusted me,
 I set me to observe, whether the son
 Would hold me in more honour than his father
 Had done before him; but he treated me
 With less regard, less honour'd and rever'd me.
 I did the same with him. He also died,
 And left a son, who now inhabits here,
 Of the same close and niggard disposition
 As was his father and his grandfather.
 He has an only daughter; she indeed
 Makes ev'ry day her constant supplications,
 With frankincense, or wine, or something else,
 And gives me wreaths of flowers. For her sake
 Have I caus'd Euclio to find out this treasure,
 That, if he please, he may the more readily
 Dispose of her in marriage. * *

The miser's sordid disposition is excellently exhibited in the following scene.—

Euclio.

So, so, my heart's at ease, all's safe within.

(*To Staphila, the Servant.*)

Come, hussy, get you in now, and be sure
 Take care of all within.

Staphila.

Take care of what?

Will any, think you, run away with the house?
 I'm sure there's nothing else to carry off,
 Except the cobwebs. It's full of emptiness.

Euclio.

You hag of hags! why Jove, to satisfy you,
Should make me a king Philip, or Darius.
Hark ye, I'd have you to preserve those cobwebs.
I'm poor, I'm very poor, I do confess;
Yet I'm content, I bear what heav'n allots.
Come, get you in; bolt the door after you;
I shall be back directly; and be sure
Don't let a soul in.

Staphila.

What if any one
Should beg some fire?

Euclio.

I'd have you put it out,
That there may be no plea to ask for any.
If you do leave a spark of fire alive,
I'll put out every spark of life in you.
If any body want to borrow water,
Tell them 'tis all run out; and if, as is
The custom among neighbours, they should want
A knife, an axe, a pestle, or a mortar,
Tell them some rogues broke in, and stole them all.
Be sure let no one in while I'm away;
I charge you, even if Good Luck should come,
Don't let her in.

Staphila.

Good Luck! I warrant you
She's not in such a hurry; she has never
Come to our house, though she is ne'er so near.

Euclio.

Have done, go in.

Staphila.

I say no more, I'm gone.

Euclio.

Be sure you bolt the door, both top and bottom.
I shall be back this instant.

Eucio. (alone.)

I am vex'd,
Whenever I'm obliged to be from home.
I don't care to go out; but now I must.
The Master of our Ward¹ has given notice,
He will give money to each poor family.
If I forego my share, and don't put in for it,
They will suspect I have a hoard at home;
For 'tis not likely a poor man would slight
The smallest sum, and not make application.
Nay, now indeed, maugre my utmost pains
To hide it from the knowledge of each soul,
Yet ev'ry one seems to be in the secret;
They're so much civiller than they us'd to be;
They come up to me, take me by the hand,
Ask how I do, and what I am upon.
Well; but I'll go now whither I was going,
And make haste back again as fast as possible.

As he is returning Megadorus meets him, and asks the
hand of his daughter.

Megadorus.

May health and happiness attend you, Eucio.

Eucio.

Heaven bless you, Megadorus!

Megadorus.

How is't with you?

Are you as hearty, and as well in health

As you could wish to be?

Eucio.

(Aside.)

'Tis not for nothing,

When a rich man speaks kindly to a poor one.

Now to be sure he knows I have got money;

And therefore he's so wondrous complaisant.

¹ Master of our Ward, *magistra curiæ*; the Romans were divided into thirty tribes, or wards.

Megadorus.

How are you?

Eucio.

'Faith but poorly, as to circumstances.

Megadorus.

If you are content, you have enough
To live upon with comfort.

Eucio.

(*Aside.*)

The old woman

Has told him of my gold ; yes, all's discover'd.

The jade ! I'll cut her tongue out, tear her eyes out
When I get home.

Megadorus.

What is it you are muttering ?

Eucio.

'Twas lamenting of my poverty,
I have a great girl unprovided for.
And can't dispose of her without a portion.

Megadorus.

No more ; take courage ; she shall be dispos'd of ;
I'll stand your friend, say what you want ; command me.

Eucio.

(*Aside.*)

He asks and promises both in a breath,
He's gaping for my treasure to devour it.
And so he thinks to 'tice me like a dog,
By holding bread in one hand, and a stone,
Ready to knock my brains out in the other ;
I place no confidence in your rich man,
When he's so monstrous civil to a poor one ;
If he hold out his hand to you in courtesy,
'Tis with design to gripe you. Ah, I know 'em ;
They are a kind of polypus, that hold fast,
Whatever they once touch.

Megadorus.

Attend a while !

I've something, Eucio, to communicate
In common, that concerns both you and me.

Euclio. (*Aside.*)

Undone ! my money's stolen, and now he wants
To enter into a composition with me.
I'll in.

Megadorus.

Where going ?

Euclio.

I'll be back this instant,
There's something I must look into at home.

In the first scene of the second act, there are some very amusing descriptions, given by the servants of the miser's practises and character ; it is not difficult to imagine the shouts of laughter which must have echoed through the Roman theatre during the performance of such a dialogue as the following, although rather ridiculously overdrawn.

Strobilus, with Anthrax and Congrio, cooks, music girls, and others with provisions ; sent in by Megadorus, who has been accepted by the miser, as a husband for his daughter.

Anthrax.

What ! could not he himself
Make entertainment at his daughter's wedding ?

Strobilus.

A pumice stone is not so dry as he.

Anthrax.

And is it as you say ?

Strobilus.

Be judge yourself.

He's ever crying out on gods and men
That he is ruin'd, absolutely murder'd,
If any smoke come from his kitchen-chimney.
Nay, when he goes to bed, he ties a bag
Close to his gullet.

Anthrax.

Why ?

Strobilus.

That he mayn't lose
The smallest portion of his breath in sleeping.

* *

Anthrax.

Well, well then, I believe you.

Strobilus.

Do you know further? he will even weep
To throw away the water he has wash'd with.

Anthrax.

Think you, we can persuade the old curmudgeon
To give us a round sum to buy our freedom.

Strobilus.

Were you to ask for hunger, he'd refuse you ;¹
When t'other day the barber cut his nails,
He gather'd up, and took away the parings.

Anthrax.

'Tis a most stingy wretch, as you describe him.
Is he so sordid? does he live so miserably?

Strobilus.

A kite once stole his scrap of supper,² straight
Our lord went howling to the Prætor, begging him
To make the thief give bail for his appearance.
A thousand other things I could relate,
If I had leisure. * *

The agony and bewilderment of the miser when he discovers that his pot of gold has been dug up, and carried off, are thus set forth.

Euclio—enters.

I'm dead! kill'd! murder'd! whither shall I run;

¹ In the original it is, *Famem hercle utendam si roges, numquam dabit.*

² Scrap of supper, *Pulmentum*, a sort of pottage.

Whither not run? stop thief! stop thief! who? what?
 I know not, I see nothing, I walk blind,
 I cannot tell for certain where I'm going,
 Or where I am, or who I am.

(*To the Spectators.*) Good people,
 I pray you, I implore you, I beseech you,
 Lend me your help, show me the man that took it.
 See! in the garb of innocent white they skulk,
 And sit as they were honest.

(*To one of the Spectators.*) What, say you?
 I will believe you, you're an honest fellow,
 I read it in your countenance. How's this?
 What do you laugh at? O, I know you all;
 I know, there are many thieves among you.
 Hey! none of you have got it? I am slain!
 Tell me, who has it then? you do not know!
 Ah, me! ah woe is me! I'm lost! I'm ruin'd!
 Wholly undone! in a most vile condition!
 Such grief, such groaning, has this day brought on me,
 Hunger and poverty! I am a wretch,
 The vilest wretch on earth! Oh, what have I
 To do with life, depriv'd of such a treasure?
 A treasure that I kept so carefully,
 And robb'd myself of comfort! others now
 Rejoice through my mishap, and make them merry
 At my expense. Oh! oh! I cannot bear it.

Lyconides—enters.

Who can this be, that moans so bitterly
 Before our house? Ha! it is Euclio sure;
 'Tis he, I think. I'm ruin'd, all's discover'd.
 He is acquainted with his daughter's labour.
 What shall I do? I'm all uncertainty.
 Were't best to go, or stay? Shall I accost him,
 Or shun his sight? I know not what to do.

Euclio.

Who's that, that speaks there ?

Lyconides.

I, sir.

Euclio.

I sir, am

A wretch, a ruin'd wretch, such dread calamity,
Such sorrow has befallen me.

Lyconides.

Take courage.

Euclio.

Prithee how can I ?

Lyconides.

Since the deed, that now
Troubles your mind, I did, and I confess it.

Euclio.

What do I hear you say ?

Lyconides.

The truth.

Euclio.

Young man,

In what have I deserv'd such usage from you,
That you should treat me thus, and go the way
To ruin me, and my poor child ?

Lyconides.

A god¹

Was my enticer ; he allur'd me.

Euclio.

How ?

Lyconides.

I own my crime, I know I am to blame ; and
Therefore come I to implore your pardon.

¹ A god ; meaning the god of love.

Euclio.

How durst you to lay violent hands on that
You had no right to touch?¹

Lyconides.

'Tis past; what's done
Cannot be undone. I believe the gods
Would have it so; if not, it had not been.

Euclio.

I believe the gods would have me hang myself
Before your face.

Lyconides.

Ah! say not so.

Euclio.

But why
Would you lay hands, I pray, on what was mine
Against my inclination?

Lyconides.

Love and wine
Did prompt me.

Euclio.

What consummate impudence!
How dare you come to me with such a speech?
If this be right, if this excuse will hold,
Why we may strip a lady of her jewels
In open day-light, then, if we be taken,
Plead in excuse, forsooth, that love and wine
Led us to do it. Oh, this love and wine

¹ To touch. An equivocation is designed in the use of the verb *tangere*, and the scene has much humour, from Euclio and Lyconides mistaking each other's meaning. The former supposing that the latter is talking of the pot of gold, when he is speaking of the old man's daughter. This is happily expressed in the original; *olla a pot*, having a feminine termination in the Latin idiom. Moliere in his elegant and talented imitation of this play, being possessed of the same power in the French tongue, has availed himself of it.

Is of great value, if it can empower
The lover and the drunkard to indulge
In whatsoever likes him with impunity.

Lyconides.

I come to beg you to forgive my folly.

Eucchio.

I relish not these fellows, who commit
A misdemeanour, and then dare defend it.
You know you had no right ; not being your's,
You should have kept your hands off.

Lyconides.

But as I dar'd
Make the attempt, I shall have no objection
To have and hold.

Eucchio.

To have and hold what's mine,
At my disposal ? and against my will ?

Lyconides.

Against your will I ask not ! but I think
It is my right, and you yourself will find
I have a just claim.¹

Eucchio.

If you don't return me—

Lyconides.

Return you what ?

Eucchio.

What you have stol'n of mine,
I'll have you before the Prætor, and commence
A suit against—

Lyconides.

Stol'n of your's ! how ? where ?
What is't you mean ?

¹ According to the Roman law, whoever seduced a free girl was obliged either to marry her without a portion, or to give her such a fortune as was suitable to her station.

Eucchio.

As if you didn't know.

Lyconides.

Not I, unless you tell me what it is.

Eucchio.

The pot of gold, I say which you confess'd
You stole, restore it to me.

Lyconides.

I ne'er said

A syllable about it, nor have I taken it.

Eucchio.

Will you deny it?

Lyconides.

Yes, deny it wholly ;

Nor do I know what gold, what pot you mean.

Eucchio.

That which you stole out of Sylvanus' grove.
Come, give it me ; I'll rather halve it with you.
Though you have robb'd me, I'll not trouble you ;
Come, then, restore it to me.

Lyconides.

Are you mad

To call me thief? I thought that you had got
News of another matter, that concerns me ;
'Tis of importance, and if leisure serve,
I should be glad to talk with you upon it.

Eucchio.

Tell me, upon your faith ; you have not stolen
This gold?

Lyconides.

Upon my faith.

Eucchio.

I know your family. Then what's your business
I should be glad to learn.

Lyconides.

You have a daughter.

Eucchio.

I have ; she is within.

Lyconides.

If I mistake not,

You have betroth'd her to my uncle.

Eucchio.

Right.

You know the whole.

Lyconides.

He has commanded me

To bring you this refusal.

Eucchio.

How ? Refusal,

When ev'ry thing is ready for the wedding ?

May all the gods confound him ! for through him,

Wretch that I am ! I've lost so great a treasure.

Lyconides.

Be comforted ; don't curse ; but let us hope

That this affair will turn out happily

To you and to your daughter. Say, Heav'n grant

It may !

Eucchio.

Heaven grant it may !

Lyconides.

And to me too.

Now give me your attention. Never was there

A man so worthless, that had done a fault,

But was asham'd, and sought to clear himself.

I do conjure you, Eucchio, to forgive me,

If all unwittingly I have offended

You and your daughter. Give me her to wife,

According to the laws ; for I confess,

That on the night of Ceres' festival,¹
 Warm with rosy wine and impell'd by youth,
 I injur'd her fair honour.

*

*

Unfortunately this comedy is imperfect, and ends with the slave of Lyconides acknowledging to his master that he had found the treasure, and would deliver it to him as the price of his freedom. As it is probable, however, that in the original Lyconides got possession of the treasure, and by restoring it to the miser obtained his daughter in marriage; it has been completed on this plan by those who have entered into the spirit of the Latin dramatist.

One of the earliest imitations of this play is by Giovan. Batista Gelli. As Plautus calls his comedy *Aulularia*, from the vessel or pot which contained the miser's treasure, he calls his for the same reason *La Sporta*, "the basket." It is far from an exact translation, the author having adopted not only the name, but likewise the manners to those of his countrymen, the Florentines. It was printed at Florence in 1550. Euclio is called Ghirorgoro, and Megadorus Lapo; the former character being a satire on avarice, and the latter a representation of proper economy. It is in prose, but strictly adapted for the stage. There is another by Il Cav. Lorenzo Guazzesi, reprinted at Pisa in 1763, but when first printed is uncertain; it is called *L'Aulularia*; the characters are the same as in the Roman piece, although the names are expressed in the Italian idiom. This is also in prose, and appears to be a professed translation. In the comedy of *The Case is Altered*, attributed to Ben

¹ On the night of Ceres' festival, "*Nocte Cereris vigiliis.*" The feasts of Ceres were celebrated in the night time, and without light; from the belief that Ceres searched for her daughter Proserpine upon Mount Etna. They appear to have been as unhappy in their consequences, as the religious camp meetings in America at the present day.

Jonson, the character of Jacques is evidently founded on that of Euclio. The most celebrated imitation, however, of the *Aulularia* is Moliere's *Avare*, and one of the most talented ever produced. There is scarcely any thing of his own invention; scenes have been taken from numerous different plays in various languages, and joined together with consummate ability. The *Harpagon* of Moliere, is represented not as a poor man, but as having amassed a fortune, and known to possess it; which adds to the humour, by enabling us to enter into the merriment of his family and neighbours. Moliere also makes his miser resolved to marry, and amuses us with his anxiety regarding the feast to his intended bride. This author has accompanied the failing of avarice with selfishness, hardness of heart, falsehood, and usury: the conclusion is improbable, and by no means equal to many of his scenes. The *Avare* of Moliere, was studied by Shadwell, Fielding, and Goldoni, for their delineations of Goldingham, Lovegold, and Ottavio. In the miser of the first there is much indelicacy and vulgarity; that of Fielding is one of his best comedies, the earlier scenes are an imitation of Moliere, the concluding ones rather different, and the denouement is considered an improvement; the miser Ottavio, in Goldoni's *Vero Amico*, is copied from Plautus and Moliere. In short, Moliere has succeeded in making the passion of avarice detestable; Plautus and Goldoni have caused it to appear odious and ridiculous. King, in his "Anecdotes," says, "The *Euclio* of Plautus, the *Avare* of Moliere, and the *Miser* of Shadwell, have been all exceeded by persons who have existed within my own knowledge."

Bacchides, "The Courtezans"—So called from two ladies of pleasure, and sisters of the name of Bacchis. The prologue is supposed to be spoken by Silenus,¹ mounted on an

¹ Silenus was foster-father and tutor to Bacchus; he is usually represented by the ancients as drunk, and mounted on an ass.

ass, and is said to be taken from the Greek of Philemon, of Syracuse, who flourished about the time of Alexander the Great.

“ Philemon gave it to the stage in Greek ;
They who speak Greek call it Evantides,
Plautus in Latin calls it Bacchides.”

The prologue, however, and first scene are supposititious, and not written by Plautus, but additions of a much later date. The first scene of the third act, where Lydus commences a soliloquy before the house of the Bacchides, puts us in mind of the thrilling inscription¹ over the gate of hell in Dante's *Inferno* ; Lydus says—

“ Quick, open, open wide these gates of hell ;²
For I in truth can count it nothing less.
No one comes here, but who has lost all hope
Of being good. Bacchises ! no ! not Bacchises,
But Bacchants perilous. Avaunt ! these sisters,
Who swallow human blood ! the house is richly
And plentifully furnish'd—for destruction.”

The chief incident of this drama, which is a master's folly and imprudence rendering of no avail the plans of an attached servant to forward his interest, has been selected by numerous modern writers as the ground-work of their plots. We find such the case in the *Inavertito* of Nicolo Barbieri, surnamed Beltramo ; the *Etourdi*, by Moliere ; and Dryden's *Sir Martin Mar-all*. The third scene of the third act, in which Philoxenus talks with such foolish indulgence of the faults of youth, has been imitated in Mo-

¹ “ Per me si va nella citta dolente ;
Per me si va nel eterno dolore ;
Per me si va tra la perduto gente.

*

*

Lasciate ogni speranza, voi, che entrate.”

² Proverbs vii. 27. “ Her house is the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death.”

liere's *Fourberies de Scapin*. The object of Plautus in this comedy was, to hold up to contempt and ridicule licentious indulgences, whether in the young, or in the old.

Captivi, "The Captives."—The plot of this piece is different from the generality of the plays of Plautus; it is of a higher cast, and turns on parental affection, and the fidelity of friendship. It is justly considered one of the most amiable of his comedies; many of the situations being highly interesting, and exhibiting actions of generous magnanimity, without any mixture of burlesque. No female characters are introduced; it is said in the epilogue, or concluding address—

"This play is founded on chaste manners;
No wenching, no intrigues, no child expos'd,
No close old dotard cheated of his money,
No youth in love, making his mistress free
Without his father's knowledge or consent."

Hegio, a gentleman of Ætolia, has two sons; one of whom is carried away by Stalagmus, a slave, when only four years old, and sold by him in Elis. A war subsequently breaking out between the Ætolians and Elians, Hegio's other son is taken captive by the latter. The father, with a view to ransom him by exchange, purchases Philocrates and Tyndarus, two Elian captives; Tyndarus is slave to Philocrates, and is left under his master's name, while the true Philocrates is sent to Elis under the name of Tyndarus, to effect the liberty of Philopolemus, the son of Hegio. The deception, however, is discovered before the return of Philocrates, and the father, believing that he has thus lost all hope of recovering his child, sends Tyndarus to labour in the mines. On the arrival of Philopolemus with Philocrates, who also brings back the fugitive slave that had stolen Hegio's son in infancy, it is then discovered that Tyndarus is this child, who had been sold to the father of Philocrates, and appointed to wait on his son,

although afterwards admitted to his young master's confidence. Some of the characters of this play are drawn with great beauty. Hegio is a correct representation of a respectable and wealthy citizen, humane and kind-hearted, with the failing of paternal tenderness to excess. The faithful attachment of Tyndarus to Philocrates, by whom he is in return looked upon rather in the light of a friend than a slave, is an agreeable and interesting representation. In the first scene of the second act there are some very philosophic and beautiful sentiments expressed, joined to much fidelity of friendship.

Slaves of Hegio, with Philocrates and Tyndarus.

A Slave.

“ If the immortal gods have so decreed,
That this affliction you should undergo,
It is your duty patiently to bear it ;
Which if you do, the trouble will be lighter.
When at your home, you I presume were free ;
But since captivity is now your lot,
Submission would become you, and to make
Your master's rule, a mild and gentle one,
By your good dispositions.

Philocrates and Tyndarus.

Alas ! alas !

Slave.

Why this bewailing ? tears but hurt your eyes ;
Our best support and succour in distress
Is fortitude of mind.

Philocrates.

Permit us to ask one favour of you.

Slave.

What is it ?

Philocrates.

That you would give us opportunity
To talk together, that, nor you yourselves,
Nor any of these captives overhear us.

Slave. Agreed. (*To the Slaves.*) Move further off.
(*To his Companions.*) We will too retire.

But let your talk be short.

Philocrates.

'Twas my intention
It should be so. A little this way Tyndarus.

Slave. (*To the other Captives.*)

Go farther from them.

Tyndarus.

We on this account
Are both your debtors.

Philocrates.

Farther off, so please you. (*To Tyndarus.*)
A little off, that these may not be witnesses
Of what we have to say, and that our plot
Be not discovered. For not plann'd with art,
Deceit is not deceit, but if discover'd,
It brings the greatest ill to the contrivers.
If you, my Tyndarus, are to pass for me,
And I for you, my master you, and I
Your servant; we have need of foresight, caution,
Wisdom, and secrecy; and we must act
With prudence, care, and diligence. It is
A business of great moment, and we must not
Sleep, or be idle in the execution.

Tyndarus.

Now for your precious life you see me stake
My own, that's no less dear to me.

Philocrates.

I know it.

Tyndarus.

But when you shall have gain'd the point you aim at,
Forget not then! it is too oft the way
With most men; when they're suing for a favour,
While their obtaining it, is yet in doubt,
They are most courteous; but when once they've got it,

They change their manners, and from just, become
Dishonest and deceitful. I now think you
All that I wish, and what I here advise,
I would advise the same unto my father.

Philocrates.

Yes, if I durst, I'd indeed call you father;
For next my father you are nearest to me.

Tyndarus.

I understand.

Philocrates.

Then what I oft have urg'd
Remember. I no longer am your master,
But now your servant. This I beg then of you,
Since the immortal gods will have it so,
That I, from being once your master, now
Should be your fellow-slave, I do entreat,
By prayer, a favour which I could command
Once as my right. By our uncertain state,
By all my father's kindness shown unto you,
By our joint-fellowship in slavery,
Th' event of war,¹ bear me the same regard
As once I bore you, when I was your master,
And you my slave; forget not to remember,
What once you have been, and who now you are.

There has been much disputing among authors regarding the point, whether the dramatic unities have been strictly observed in this comedy. M. De Coste, in the preface to his French translation, observes, that it is to all appearance perfectly regular, and that the unity of the subject is obvious. As to the unity of place he is right; the business of the drama being carried on before the house of Hegio,

¹ In those days of heroism the rule was, to conquer or die; to run away, or submit to be taken prisoner, was equally considered a want of bravery.

at Chalydon, in Ætolia. In the unity of time there is undoubtedly some license taken by Plautus, agreeable, however, to the decorum of the stage, and which is objectionable rather in a true history than in a dramatic representation. Our author was not singular in this liberty; Euripides in the *Supplicants* has taken the same license.¹ The chief plot of the *Captives* has been repeatedly imitated, particularly in *The Case is Altered*, supposed to be by Ben Jonson, and published in some editions of his works. It is also the foundation of *Les Captifs*, a comedy by Rotrou. According to Ginguené, in his *Histoire Litteraire d'Italie*, the *Captivi* suggested the *Suppositi*, a drama by Ariosto; who has made the incidents subservient to a love intrigue, and not to the deliverance of a prisoner.

Casina.—So called from the name of a female slave, on whom, though she does not appear on the stage, the plot of the drama turns. It is evident that the prologue to this play was not written by Plautus, but years after his death on the revival of the comedy. It would seem that the writings of this author had rather gone out of fashion immediately after his decease; at length the public becoming tired of the new comedies, called for the reproduction of those of Plautus. It says,

“If antique works and words
To modern you prefer, with equal reason
You should prefer old comedies to new ones;
For the new comedies that now come out,

¹ The distance between Chalydon and Elis is more than a hundred miles, the two cities where the scenes are laid in the *Captives*; so that it was much too far to go and return again, without breaking into the unity of time established for the ancient drama. In the *Supplicants*, Euripides makes a messenger return from Thebes to Athens, and give an account of affairs, in less time than he could have flown.

Are baser far than is our new coin'd money.
 We therefore, having heard from public rumour
 How earnestly you long'd to have presented
 Before you on the stage some plays of Plautus,
 Revive this antique comedy of his;
 Which heretofore, by those of former days,
 Had been received with approbation.

*

*

Therefore I

Most earnestly entreat you all to give
 A strict attention to our present scenes.
 Cast aside all care for getting money,
 Nor let the debtor fear his creditor.
 'Tis a red-letter'd day; no business done
 At the forum, or amongst the bankers.
 All's quiet now, and these are halcyon days;
 And when the public games are going forward,
 There is no paying or receiving money.¹
 If then your ears are in a mood to hear,
 Give your attention. First, I will explain to you
 The name of this our comedy. 'Tis call'd
 In Greek Clerumene, which means a wife
 Drawn for by lots. 'Twas in that language written
 By Diphilus.² Our Plautus afterwards
 Translated it, and brought it on our stage,
 Calling it Casina."

The prologue concludes with a compliment on the valour of the Romans so grateful to that people. In this play the unities of time and place are strictly observed; in point of humour it is usually considered not inferior to any of the

¹ During the public games or shows at Rome, it was not lawful to arrest any one for debt, or to commence a law-suit.

² Diphilus was a contemporary of Menander, and distinguished by his comic wit and humour. He is said to have written one hundred dramas, of which only some fragments have been preserved.

comedies of Plautus. The plot consists in the female slave, who gives the name to this comedy, being beloved by her master Stalino, and his son Enthynicus; the former employs Olympio, his bailiff in the country, and the latter Chalinus, his armour-bearer, to marry Casina, each with the same purpose, to obtain possession of her. Cleostrata, Stalino's wife, suspects her husband's design, and espouses the interests of her son, who is, however, sent abroad to travel. After much dispute, it is arranged that the claim of the bailiff and armour-bearer should be decided by lot. Olympio having gained, Stalino obtains the loan of a neighbour's house; and it is agreed that its mistress should be invited for an evening by Cleostrata, who counteracts the arrangement by declining the visit. A plan is laid to disappoint the old man, by dressing up Chalinus in wedding-clothes to personate Casina, and the piece concludes with the mortification of Stalino at finding he has thus been duped.

In the commencement of the third scene of the second act, there is the following amusing soliloquy of Stalino on love:—

“ In my opinion, love's to be preferr'd
To all things; and of every excellency
'Tis most excellent. Nor is there aught
That can be mention'd, has a higher relish,
Or more sweetness in it. I much wonder,
Your cooks, who use so many different sorts
Of seasoning, should never in their sauces
Put some of this, which so excels them all;
The sauce that has the seasoning of love
Must please all palates. And without a mixture,
A little dash of love, no sauce will have
A relish, nor taste sweet upon the palate.
Love changes gall to honey, to sweet bitter;
Clears up the gloom, and renders strait the man
Agreeable and pleasant. This opinion

I rather from my experience form,
 Than what I hear without doors. For e'er since
 I've been in love with Casina, I surpass
 Neatness itself in neatness. Now I visit
 All the perfumers; and where'er I meet
 A perfume that is excellent I use it,
 That I may please her. And it seems to me,
 That I succeed."

Beaumarchais, in his prose comedy of *Le Marriage de Figaro*, has copied the plan of *Stalino* for obtaining possession of *Casina*; where the Count *Almaviva*, with similar intentions, projects a marriage between *Suzanne* and his valet-de-chambre *Figaro*, but his schemes are frustrated. *Aretine's* comedy of the *Marescalco* is believed to be taken from the concluding part of the *Casina*; the supposed bride being a page of the Duke of Mantua, dressed up to impose on the *Marescalco*, in a frolic of the courtiers. The scenes in the *Ragazza* of *Lodovico Dolce*, where a similar deception is practised, have likewise been drawn from the comedy of *Plautus*. The nearest imitation, however, of the *Casina*, is *Machiavel's* play of *Clitia*, many parts of it being literally translations from the Latin, and there being few particulars in which the incidents are altered.

Cistellaria, "The Casket."¹—The prologue to this play is not spoken at the commencement, but at the end of the first act, by *Auxilium*, the god of help, or aid; an alteration for which *Plautus* has been severely criticised. It is not, however, the only instance in which our author has adopted the plan; in the *Braggart Captain* the prologue begins the second act, and in *Amphitryon* there is a second prologue, or rather a continuation of it, which forms the second scene of the first act. The prologue to the *Casket*, after explaining the subject, concludes with a compliment to the Romans

¹ From *Cista*, a casket, or basket.

on their power and military glory, exhorting them to overcome and punish the Carthaginians:—

“ Farewell! and conquer,
As you were wont, with valour undismay'd.
Retain your old allies, support your new ones.
Still your supplies by your just laws increase.
Destroy your foes, and praise and laurels gather;
And may the vanquish'd Carthaginians still
Feel from your arms their proper punishment.”

From this passage, it would appear, that this comedy was represented during the second Punic war, which terminated A.U.C. 552; and as Plautus was born in 525, it was doubtless one of his earliest productions. Like many of the plays of this author, it turns on the accidental discovery of a lost child by her parents, in consequence of the finding of a casket, containing some toys which had been left with her when delivered to be exposed; the mother of the child having been forcibly seduced in the dead of night at Sicyon, by a Lemnian merchant, during the feast of Bacchus. In the times of the ancient Greeks and Romans, these accidents, so frequently exhibited on the stage, were neither unlikely nor improbable. The custom of exposing children; of reducing prisoners of war to slavery; the little connection which existed between countries, from indifferent roads and the want of inns; with the difficulty of tracing lost individuals, rendered such incidents, apparently marvellous to us, of no uncommon occurrence in real life. In Greece, divided into a number of small states, and surrounded by a sea infested by pirates, free-born children were frequently carried off, and sold in distant countries; and as, by the laws of Athens, marriage with a foreigner was void, the recognition of a supposed stranger was of great importance to both parties. The writers of the old Greek comedy naturally seized upon such a prominent mine of dramatic wealth; it was afterwards used by Menander,

and from his example by Plautus and Terence. In imitation of the Greek and Latin comedies, similar incidents in dramatic and romantic fiction have been continued to the present day. The *Cistellaria*, though short and simple in its plot, and not fertile in the argument, is still enlivened by a considerable degree of comic humour in some of the subordinate characters. The *Casket* has been imitated by Giovan. Maria Cecchi, of Florence, in his *Gli Incantesimi*, written in the sixteenth century.

Curculio.—This comedy derives its name from a parasite, who acts the part of an intriguing slave, and is one of the chief characters; Plautus calls him *Curculio*, from a species of worm which eats through corn. There is no prologue to this play, and the subject of it is the same as the preceding drama, the discovery of a supposed slave to be a free-woman, and the finding out of her parents and relations.

Epidicus.—This play is so called from the name of a slave, who is a principal character in it, and on whose rogueries most of the incidents depend. It is called by the English translators, “The Discovery,” as its more serious part consists in the finding out of a damsel, who proves to be sister to a young man by whom she had been purchased for a slave. This play has no prologue, but the first scene explains to the audience what the prologue otherwise would do. It is opened by *Epidicus*, the servant to *Periphanes*, and *Thesprio*, armour-bearer to *Stratippocles*. *Thesprio* is what the ancients called “*persona protatica*,” a protatic character; or one who appears only once in the beginning of the piece, for the sake of unfolding the argument, and is not seen again in any part of the drama: such are *Sosia* in the *Andrian* of Terence, and *Davus* in his *Phormio*. *Epidicus* being left alone, goes on with the narration of what had happened before the action began on the stage; and in the second scene, *Stratippocles* goes on with the story just where *Thesprio* had left off. This is a very simple mode

of informing the audience of the circumstances previously to the opening of the play, and is too evident that the narration is only made for the sake of the spectators; such explanations it is considered ought to come round more by accident, or be drawn from the characters themselves in the course of the action. The subject of this comedy is double; at the same time when Periphanes finds his daughter, Stratippocles in finding a sister loses a mistress whom he was passionately in love with, and for whom he had deserted another that he is obliged to receive again. The unities of time and place are observed, the acts are naturally divided, the characters well supported, and the piece is not defective in wit and raillery. Epidicus, though popular on the ancient stage, has not been frequently copied for the modern theatre. An early imitation of it is to be found in the *Emilia*, of Luigi da Grotta, better known as *Cieco d'Adria*, one of the earliest romantic poets of Italy. The trick of Epidicus persuading his master to purchase a slave, with whom his son was in love, suggested the first device adopted by *Mascarelle*, the valet in the *Etourdi* of *Moliere*, in order to place the female slave *Celie* at the command of her lover.

Menæchmi.—Plautus has so called this comedy from the twin brothers, each of them being named *Menæchmus*; the one of *Epidamnum*, a city of *Macedon*, the other *Sosicles*. The comic humour of this play turns on a doubt and confusion with regard to the identity of the brothers, who are represented as exactly alike. It is supposed to be a translation from a lost play of *Menander*, entitled *Διδυμῶν*, “The Twins,” but this is uncertain. The plot consists in a merchant of *Syracuse* having two sons, whose strong personal resemblance could hardly be detected by their parents. One of them was lost by his father in a crowd in the streets of *Syracuse*, and being found by a Greek merchant is carried by him to *Epidamnum*, and adopted as his son. When

the brother grew up, he set out from Syracuse in quest of his relation, and after a long search arrived at Epidamnum, where the other had by this time married, and inherited the merchant's fortune. Here the citizens mistake one brother for the other, and even the family fall into the same error, which naturally leads to amusing and ludicrous scenes. At length the whole is unravelled by the two Menæchmi meeting, when the servant of the Syracusan astonished at their resemblance, discovers, after a few questions, that Menæchmus of Epidamnum, was the twin brother of whom his master had been so long in search. The brothers mutually acknowledge each other, and Messenio in recompense for being so instrumental in the discovery receives his freedom. The first scene opens with an amusing and philosophic soliloquy by Peniculus, the Parasite, a frequent character in the ancient comedy. He says,

“ Our young men call me dish-cloth, for this reason,
Whene'er I eat, I wipe the table clean.
Now in my judgment they act foolishly,
Who bind in chains their captives, and clap fetters
Upon their runaway slaves ; for if you heap
Evil on evil to torment the wretch,
The stronger his desire is to escape.
They'll free themselves from chains by any means ;
Load them with gyves, they'll file away the door,
Or knock the bolt out with a stone. 'Tis vain this ;
But would you keep a man from 'scaping from you,
Be sure you chain him fast with meat and drink,
And tie him by the nose to a full table.
Give him his fill, allow him food and drink
At pleasure, in abundance, every day ;
And I'll be sworn, although his crime be capital,
He will not run away ; you'll easily
Secure him, while you bind him with these bonds.
They're wond'rous supple these same stomach-bonds,
The more you stretch them, they'll bind the faster.

This play, which has been considered by no means one of the worst of the comedies of Plautus, has had numerous imitations, particularly in Italy, where masks were frequently employed. One of the most celebrated copies, is Aretine's *Lo Ipocrito*. The Latin comedy has also been followed in *Le Moglie* of Cecchi, and in the *Lucidi* of Agnuolo Firenzuolo, although the incidents have been adapted by these dramatists to the manners of their own country. In the *Simillimi* of Trissino, a chorus of sailors has been added, with but little other alteration from the original play. In *Gli due Gemelli*, long a favourite piece on the Italian stage, the two brothers were acted by Carlini, both parties not being brought on the stage together from an alteration in the scenes, as in our own farce of *Three and the Deuce*, where different characters and manners are given, with a perfect personal resemblance. The *Menæchmi* was also translated into Spanish by Gonsalvo Perez. The Comedy of Errors, which is not accounted one of the happiest efforts of Shakspeare's genius, was taken from the play of Plautus; our own dramatist has added the character of the twin Dromios, the servants of the Antipholis's bearing the same singular resemblance to each other as their masters, thereby introducing a bewildering and improper intricacy. *Les Menechmes*, ou *Les Jumeaux*, by Regnard, and formed partly on an old French play of the same title by Rotrou, although the scenes have been accommodated to French manners, and the plot differs a good deal from the Latin, is still a lively and pleasant imitation, and was performed with great applause in 1706. *Les menteurs qui ne mentent point*, of Boursault, though differing in its fable from the original, is founded on the same species of humour; the perfect resemblance of the two Nicandres occasioning ludicrous mistakes between their mistresses and valets. In the *Menechmes Grecs* by Cailhava, the characters are new, although the plot is more like that of Plautus than Regnard's. This is the most recent French

imitation, and has become very popular on the modern French stage.

Miles Gloriosus, "The Braggart Captain."—It does not appear from what Greek author Plautus took this play. The character from which it takes its name, was introduced and brought to perfection by Menander and Philemon, who wrote during the reigns of the immediate successors to Alexander the Great, when his generals had established sovereignties in Egypt and Syria, and were in the habit of levying mercenaries in Greece. These soldiers, after serving in the wars of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ, were in the habit, on their return home, of astonishing their friends by marvellous and exaggerated relations of their exploits in distant countries; they thus became the prototypes of that dramatic personage, of which the invariable attributes were vanity, cowardice, and profusion. This character, with those of the slave and parasite, were transferred into the dramas of Plautus. The prologue begins the second act, and says,

"In Greek this comedy is styl'd Alazon,
Which render'd in our tongue, we call the Braggart."

The first act is merely episodical, it has nothing to do with the plot, and only serves to acquaint us with the character from which the play takes its name. The boasts of the captain are quite extravagant, although exceeded by the gross flatteries of the parasite. The statement that the former had broken an elephant's thigh with his fist, and slain seven thousand men in one day, are such palpable impossibilities, that it becomes difficult to imagine that any one could swallow them by way of praise, or not have perceived that they were in reality bitter sarcasms; as indeed is evident when the parasite delivers the prologue.

The plot of this play properly begins with the second act. While residing at Athens, the captain had purchased from her mother a young girl, whose lover was absent on

an embassy, and brought her with him to his house at Ephesus. The lover's servant having entered into the captain's service, and seeing the girl in his possession, writes to his former master; who, on learning the fate of his mistress, repaired to Ephesus, and goes to reside with Periplectomenes, a good-natured old bachelor, who had been a friend of his father, and who agrees to aid him in recovering the object of his affections. The house of the old bachelor being adjacent to that of the captain, the servant of the girl's former lover makes an opening between the two dwellings; and the keeper, entrusted with charge of the damsel, is persuaded by her rapid, and to him unaccountable transition from one building to the other, that it was a twin sister possessing an extraordinary resemblance, who had arrived at the house of Periplectomenes. By a new contrivance, a courtesan is employed to personate the wife of the old bachelor, and to persuade the captain that she is in love with him. To facilitate the intrigue, he permits the girl whom he had purchased at Athens, to depart with her imaginary twin sister and her lover, who had disguised himself as a sailor. The captain then goes to the house of Periplectomenes, to a supposed assignation, where he is seized and beaten, but does not find out how completely he had been imposed upon till the damsel has got off with her lover. This play in its representation was no doubt an amusing one; the scenes are full of action and bustle, while the secret communication between the dwellings gives rise to a variety of lively incidents. The vain-glorious military part of the captain's character, which was carried to such a height of extravagance in the first act, is in a great measure laid aside in the succeeding scenes; and the more pleasing foibles of his priding himself upon his beauty, and fancying every woman in love with him, are cleverly exposed. In the reflections of the hearty old bachelor, there is much humour; his descriptions show him to be an accurate observer of men and manners. The play concludes with an excellent moral.

In the imitations of this comedy, the chief figure in the *Farsa Satira Morale*, by Venturino of Pesaro, written in the fifteenth century, was Spampana, the original Capitano Glorioso, a character long distinguished in the Italian drama; he was usually equipped with a mantle and long rapier. This military poltroon, under a variety of appellations, such as, Capitano Spavento, Spagnuolo, &c., continued till succeeded by Scaramuccio, invented by Tiberio Fiurilli, the companion of the early years of Louis XIV. Copying the Italian Captain, the early French dramatists introduced an individual having more rhodomontade and solemnity, but less buffoonery than the former, who patiently took blows while talking of dethroning kings. This part was first exhibited in *Le Brave*, by Baif, performed in 1567. The character, however, which comes nearest to the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus, is that of Chasteaufort in Bergerac's *Pedant Joué*. In the high opinion of his personal appearance, and belief that every woman is in love with him, Corneille's *Matamore*, in his *Illusion Comique*, also resembles the Latin comedy. The braggart captains of the old English theatre, have much more merit than those either of the Italian or French stage. Falstaff has frequently been considered as a combination of the characters of the parasite and *Miles Gloriosus*; but he far exceeds them in wit and humour, while the liberty of fiction in which he indulges is hardly more than is necessary to its display. Bobadil, in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, has also been regarded as a copy of the Captain in Plautus; a late editor of Jonson, however, considers him an original: and when we remember the different attributes with which that author has invested him, poverty, frugality, humour, an admiration of poetry, and a taste for criticism; Jonson appears entitled to the merit of having relied upon his own resources. The original character is continued to a great extent in the Bernardo of Shadwell's *Amorous Bigot*, and in Nol Bluff of the *Old Bachelor* by Congreve.

The most striking attribute exhibited by modern dramatists from Spampana to Major Sturgeon, is the one of Cowardice, which is not that of the comedy of Plautus; conceit of his person, and vanity regarding the admiration of women, being the two most prominent foibles.¹

Mercator, "The Merchant."—This play was copied by Plautus from Philemon. The plot consists in a son having been sent to travel by his father, in order to reclaim him from a dissolute course of life; the youth, however, instead of becoming better, brings home with him a mistress, and the father on seeing the damsel falls in love with her. His son to conceal the matter wishes to sell the girl, but engages one of his acquaintances to purchase her for him. From mismanagement she is bought by a friend, whom the father had employed for the purpose, and is carried, according to a previous arrangement, to the purchaser's house. The friend's wife, however, becomes jealous of this inmate, and her husband is obliged to explain the subject for her satisfaction, consequently the old debauchee incurs shame and reproof. This comedy is one of those possessing little merit as to talent, while the latitude allowed to the licentiousness of young men, is offensive, however fit an antiquated libertine may be for satire and repoach. *La Stiava*, an Italian comedy by Cecchi, is from the above.

Mostellaria.²—Several ancient critics having mentioned this comedy under the title of *Phasma*, which signifies an Apparition, that name has also been given to it. There is

¹ In the story of the two dreams related in the *Seven Wise Masters*, originally written by an Indian philosopher long before the Christian era, and translated into Greek under the title of *Syntipas*, the fable is substantially the same as in the *Miles Gloriosus*; it was adapted to the manners of different nations, and became current during the dark ages in all the countries of Europe.

² From *Monstra*, things wonderful, softened into *mostra*, thence *mostella*, and *mostellaria*; as *castellum*, from *Castrum*, a castle.

no prologue. The plot represents a young Athenian, of a good natural disposition, led into every kind of folly and extravagance, partly by his inordinate passion for a courtesan, and partly by the wicked advice of one of his slaves, called Tranio. During a feast which the youth is giving in his father's mansion, he is alarmed by the news which Tranio brings, of the unexpected return of his father from Egypt, who had been absent on a trading voyage for three years. The slave undertakes to prevent him from entering the house, and proceeds to lock up his young master with the guests; and when the old gentleman approaches, he gravely informs him, that the dwelling is shut up in consequence of being haunted by the apparition of a man long since murdered in it. After leaving the door, they happen to meet a money-lender, who had come to demand payment of a considerable debt from the profligate son; the lying and ingenious slave then persuades the father that the money had been borrowed to purchase a house, which was a great bargain, and had been bought by his son in place of the haunted one, and Tranio actually takes him over a house, from whose owner, ignorant of the purpose, he had obtained permission, and the old man approves of the bargain. At length the whole deception is discovered by his accidentally meeting an attendant of one of his son's companions, just going into the haunted house, to conduct his master home from the entertainment. The father is thus called upon to exercise his patience and forgiveness towards the son, by whose extravagance he is nearly ruined, and the slave who has so grossly imposed on him. The most prominent and amusing feature in this comedy, is that of the general conduct of the class of slaves, made up of insolence, effrontery, triumphant cunning, and habitual familiarity with their masters at one moment, although the next often threatened with the lash, crucifixion, or a cruel death.

There is an excellent imitation of this play by Regnard,

who has employed the intriguing valet to much advantage in his *Retour Imprevu*, a comedy in prose, and in one act; the incidents of the *Mostellaria* have been generally adopted, although in some measure transposed. With the addition of a number of songs, the *Intriguing Chambermaid*, by Fielding, is nearly a translation from the French of Regnard. The *Fantasma*, an Italian comedy of the sixteenth century, by Ercole Bentivoglio, is formed on the Latin original; which also suggested the plot of an old tragi-comedy by Heywood, printed in 1633, and called, *The English Traveller*.

Persa.—This play has been called the *Persian*, for what reason does not clearly appear; it is of the lowest order of comedy, the characters being composed of two slaves, a parasite, a pander, a foot-boy, and a courtesan, with her maid-servant: the manners represented are such as might be expected from such a disreputable group. The incidents are few and slight, turning on a piece of roguery practised against the pander; who is persuaded to give a large sum for a free woman dressed as a Persian captive, and whom he was obliged to relinquish after having paid the money.

Poenulus, “*The Carthaginian*.”—This comedy turns on the discovery of lost children, a son, and two daughters, carried off from Carthage at different times. It was represented during the second Punic war; and from the jests and ridicule thrown on the Carthaginian name, it is evident that Plautus had no indisposition to accommodate his writings to gratify the prejudices of the Roman people, at the expense of their enemies. This piece is not one of those distinguished by talent. The prologue is long, but it contains some amusing and witty remarks, and gives a fair idea of the style, or license, used in addressing a Roman audience. It says,

“ My pattern I’ve a mind to make The Achilles
 Of Aristarchus.¹ From that tragedy
 I’ll take my opening to this comedy.
 Hist then ! be silent, and attend. Our chief,
 The manager, would have you all to hear ;
 And in your places with good humour sit,
 Whether or full, or fasting ye are come.
 Those who have din’d, I look upon as wisest ;
 Such as have not, may dine upon the play.
 In him, who has his dinner by our favour,
 Thus ready cook’d before him ; it were foolish
 To sit here fasting, with an empty stomach.
 Ho ! cryer there ! stand up, proclaim attention,
 I want to see whether you know your duty.
 Come, exercise your lungs, by which you eat,
 Get clothes and living. For unless you cry
 Out lustily, unheard you’ll starve in silence.
 Well, to have double wages, now sit down.
 Heav’n grant success ! Now my commands obey,
 Let no old mistress sit upon the stage,
 Let not the Lictors,² or his rods be noisy ;
 Nor while the actors are upon the stage,
 Show any to their seats ; those who have ta’en
 Too long a nap at home, ’tis fit should stand,
 And be content, nor think of sleeping here.
 Let the slaves stand that freemen may sit down,
 Or pay for seats, if they have wherewithal.
 Or else march home, and ’scape a double evil ;
 Here to be beat with rods, at home with thongs,³

¹ Aristarchus was a tragic poet, who flourished about 250 years before the time of Plautus.

² The Lictors apparently attended the Roman theatre, as the guards attend at ours’

³ Some remains of the Punic language preserved in the manuscript copies of this play, have been regarded as curious relics for philological inquiry ; affording ample employment for numerous

If things be not in order, when their masters
Come back again.

Pseudolus.—This comedy has received its name from that of a servant, a principal character in it, on whose tricks and contrivances all the incidents depend. The title is from the Greek word signifying a liar, although the comedy in English has been called *The Cheat*. The plot hinges on the fertile cunning of the slave *Pseudolus* in behalf of his young master *Calidorus*, who is in despair at not possessing sufficient money to redeem his mistress, sold by *Ballio*, a slave-dealer, to a Macedonian captain for twenty minæ, fifteen of which had been paid; and the damsel was to be delivered up to him as soon as he forwarded the remaining five, along with an impression of a seal ring which the captain had left behind him as a pledge. The slave having encountered the captain's messenger, *Harpax*, finds out his business, and procures another servant to personate the pander's servant, and so obtains possession of the letter. While *Harpax* is refreshing himself after his journey, he presents the letter with the balance of the money; the slave-dealer acknowledges matters to be correct, and without hesitation delivers up the girl in return: when the true messenger afterwards arrives, the pander treats him as an impostor. This comedy is considered one of the best by Plautus; the characters, although by no means pleasing ones, being sketched by the hand of a master; and the fifth, or last act, is distinguished by much comic, but coarse humour. This play has been closely imitated in *La Trappolaria*, by *Baptista Porta*; it was printed at Bergamo in 1596, and is much more complicated than the Latin piece,

commentators, who have laboured to illustrate and restore them to their proper readings. Critics have found in them traces of all the ancient tongues, according to their own ideas, or some favourite system they had adopted, ending, however, by leaving the matter as uncertain as before their investigations.

various other prominent characters being introduced, occasioning a series of contrarieties. In Moliere's *Etourdi*, the stratagems of a valet to place a girl in possession of his master Lelie, are a copy from *Pseudolus*. An elegant translation of this comedy into Italian verse was made by Giuseppe Torelli, and dedicated to the Duke of Manchester; it is called *Il Pseudolo*, and was printed at Florence in 1765.

Rudens.—The title to this play signifies a cable, it is so called from the rope by which a fisherman drags his net to shore, in which is contained the *vidulus*, or wallet, which contributes to the catastrophe. As such a name, however, would sound uncouth, the English commentators have styled it “*The Shipwreck*.” The piece was originally taken from a Greek comedy of Diphilus. As in a preceding drama, “*The Miser*,” the prologue is spoken by the household god, because none but a deity could know the particulars revealed by him to the spectators, so for the same reason a god speaks this. Plautus is frequently blamed for the fulness of his expositions, as tending to destroy the surprise and interest of the succeeding scenes; and it certainly appears that the narration of all that is to take place before the opening of the stage, is very inartificial in a prologue, because it is spoken directly to the audience, instead of allowing it to be gradually disclosed in the course of the representation. The prologue to this play, however, is so eminently beautiful, as particularly to demand a quotation from it.

Arcturus descends as a star from heaven, and thus opens the piece :

With Him, who sways all nations, sea and earth,
I dwell in fellowship, a denizen
Of heav'n's high city, the abode of gods.
I'm, as you see, a fair and splendid star,
Keeping my regular and fixed course
On earth here, and in heav'n ; my name Arcturus,

By night I shine in heav'n among the gods,
 And in the day-time mix with mortal men,
 Passing, with other stars, from heav'n to earth.
 Jove, supreme sov'reign of gods and men,
 Spreads us throughout all nations several ways,
 To mark the people's actions, learn their manners,
 Their piety and faith, that so each man
 May find reward according to his virtues.
 In proper registers are noted down
 The upright and the good. Yet wicked men
 Fondly imagine they can Jove appease
 With gifts and sacrifice; and thus they lose
 Their labour and their cost; for no petition
 Is acceptable to him from bad men.
 He that is good and just will sooner find
 Grace from above, in praying to the gods,
 Than will the wicked. Therefore, I advise
 You that are just and good, who pass your days
 In piety and virtue, persevere,
 That so you may rejoice from all your doings."¹

*

*

The chief incidents of this drama are the following.—Dæmones, before whose house in Cyrene the scene is laid, formerly resided at Athens, where his daughter, when a little child, had been kidnapped, and purchased by a slave merchant, who brought her to Cyrene. A Greek youth, then living in that town, saw her returning from the music school, and became enamoured of her; having agreed to purchase her for thirty minæ, he advanced an earnest, and bound the

¹ When we peruse these beautiful lines, which would not disgrace the Christian religion, it is difficult to imagine how the Roman people could have tolerated the introduction on the stage of Jupiter, the king of the gods, employed in the false character of Amphitryon, for the purpose of seducing an amiable and virtuous wife during the absence of her husband.

dealer over by an oath, who consents to meet him and fulfil the bargain at an adjoining temple; but being told that he could obtain a better price for her in Sicily, the slave-dealer secretly hires a vessel, and sets sail, carrying the girl along with him. The ship had scarcely got to sea when Arcturus raises a dreadful storm, by which it is dashed to pieces. The merchant and his comrade are cast upon a rock; the maid and a damsel with her, having leaped into the boat, are driven ashore, wet and dripping, but unhurt, near to the old man's house. The damsels now on shore appear among the cliffs deploring their misfortune; they are kindly received by the priestess of Venus, who reminds them, however, that they should have come clothed in white, and bringing victims. Here they are discovered by the servant of Pleusidippus, the young Athenian lover, who sets off to inform his master. Labrax, the slave merchant, then approaches the vicinity of the temple; and having found out that the girls were secreted in the temple of Venus, he rushes in to claim and seize them, but the attempt ends in the pander being dragged to prison. The fisherman of Dæmones is then introduced, congratulating himself on having found a wallet, part of the wreck of the pander's ship; which contained his money, with some effects belonging to the girls, leading to the discovery that Palæstra is the daughter of Dæmones. The scenery of this comedy is said to have been very splendid and picturesque. The play opens during the storm in a manner eminently grand and romantic; Dæmones and his servant are represented viewing it from the land, pointing out to each other the dangers of a boat, in which were seated the two damsels, Palæstra and Ampelisca, who had escaped from the ship, and were driving towards the shore, which after many perils they at length reach. At the farther end of the stage was a prospect of the sea, intersected by rocks and cliffs, projecting forward to some extent. On one side, the city of Cyrene was represented as at a distance; on the other,

the temple of Venus, with a court before it, in the centre of which stood an altar. Adjacent to the temple, and on the same side, stood the house of Dæmones, with a few scattered cottages in the back ground. The fifth scene of the first act opens with Palæstra just landed on a rock; and Plautus has put into her mouth one of those beautiful but melancholy soliloquys, which have so often troubled the minds of men possessing superior talent with depth of thought: she says:—

“ The storied miseries of men’s mishaps
 (How sad soe’er relation sets them forth)
 Are far less sharp than those we know and feel
 Ourselves from sore experience. Has it then,
 Pleas’d heav’n to cast me on this stranger shore,
 With these drench’d garments, frightened and forlorn?
 Shall I not cry, ‘ Why was I born to bear
 This load of misery?’ Is this the meed
 Of my distinguish’d piety? With ease
 I might endure this labour of affliction,
 If I had borne me impious to the gods,
 Or to my parents. But if studiously
 I’ve sought to shun that trespass, then, ye gods,
 You’ve dealt with me unfittingly, unjustly.
 How will ye requite henceforth the impious
 If at this rate you prize the innocent?
 Were I but conscious that in anything
 My parents or myself had done amiss,
 It less had griev’d me. But my owner’s crimes
 Have wrought this woe; for his impiety
 I’m punish’d.” * *

Again, in the third scene of the third act, when Labrax, the pander, has discovered that the damsels were not drowned, and rushes into the temple of Venus to drag them from the statue of that goddess, Palæstra exclaims:—

“ Now are we destitute of ev’ry pow’r,
 Of ev’ry succour and defence, no hope
 Of safety left us; neither do we know
 Which way to turn, or whither to betake us.
 Dire apprehensions compass us around,
 Such outrage have we suffer’d here within,
 From that base rogue, our master; who most rudely
 Push’d down the good old priestess, treated her
 With the most vile indignities, and dragg’d us
 With violence from the statue. Seeing then,
 Our state is desp’rate, it were best to die.
 Death is the only refuge in affliction.”

A soliloquy by Dæmones is somewhat in the same strain,
 but humorous:—

“ How many ways the gods make sport of men!
 How strangely they do haunt us in our dreams!
 Ev’n in our sleep they will not let us rest.¹
 As for example, I myself last night
 Dreamt a most strange and an unheard-of dream.
 Methought an ape made an attempt to climb
 Up to a swallow’s nest, nor could he take
 The young ones out; on which he came to me,
 And ask’d me for a ladder; I replied,
 That swallows sprang from Philomel and Progne,²
 And charg’d him not to harm my country-folks.
 At this the ape grew much enrag’d, and seem’d
 To threaten me with veng’ance, summon’d me
 Before a judge. At last, I know not how,
 Highly provok’d, I caught him by the middle,

¹ The first scene of the second act in *The Merchant* begins with nearly the same three lines, and Demipho relates a dream about a beautiful she-goat and an old ape.

² Philomel and Progne were daughters of Pandion, king of Athens; according to the fable, one of them was changed into a nightingale, and the other into a swallow.

And clapt the mischievous vile beast in chains.
 I have in vain endeavour'd to find out
 The meaning of this dream."

This play, although considered one of the best by Plautus, has some trifling uninteresting scenes in it, and is unnecessarily spun out. It was imitated by Lodovico Dolce, in his comedy *Il Ruffiano*, published in 1560. It is not, however, a mere translation; there are several new characters introduced, the language and names are altered, and the scenes somewhat transposed. *Le Naufrage*, by Madame Riccoboni, is also partly taken from the *Rudens*.

Stichus.—This comedy is so called from the name of a slave, who is a principal character in it; but as the subject is the affection of Panegyris and Pinacium for their absent husbands, and their determination to persist in their constancy towards them, notwithstanding their supposed death, the English commentators have styled it *Conjugal Fidelity*. Like many other of the author's plays it has no prologue. The resolution of the two daughters of Antipho to wait patiently, in defiance of the urgency of their father to induce them to contract a second marriage, is at length rewarded by the safe arrival of their husbands, who from their long absence were supposed to be dead. The comic part of this piece is filled up by the stratagems of Gelasimus, a parasite, to be invited to the entertainment given by the husbands to celebrate their return; and the whole of the fifth and last act is occupied by the entertainment *Stichus*, with his master's leave, was enjoying, after having invited several of his fellow-servants.

The Treasure.—This play is called by the author *Trinummus*, which signifies three pieces of money. It is difficult to assign a reason why Plautus rejected the original Greek title *Thesauro*, *The Treasure*, for one so uncouth. In the prologue it says,

“ In the Greek

’Tis nam’d The Treasure, which Philemon wrote.
Our poet this translated, calling it
Trinummus.”

The prologue is spoken by two allegorical personages, Luxury, and her daughter Want. The play is then opened by a protatic individual, as he is called, Megaronides, who comes to reprove his friend Callicles for conduct which seemed to him reprehensible ; this induces the latter at once to explain his conduct to the spectators, and to his monitor. It appears that Charmides, an Athenian, when leaving his country on business of consequence, entrusted to Callicles the guardianship of his son and daughter, with the management of his affairs, and the care of a treasure of three thousand Phillippeans, which he kept secreted in his dwelling. Lesbonicus, the son of Charmides, being an extravagant and dissolute youth, puts up the family mansion to sale, which is bought at a low price by the guardian, that the treasure may not fall into other hands. In the meantime a young man, Lysiteles, had fallen in love with the daughter of Charmides, and obtained the consent of her brother to his marriage. The guardian desirous to give her a portion from the treasure, is still anxious to keep the secret from her brother ; the person therefore, called Trinummus, is hired with three pieces of gold, to pretend that he comes as a messenger from her father, to present a forged letter, and to feign that he had brought home money for the daughter’s portion. As the counterfeit is going towards the house to perform his part, Charmides arrives unexpectedly from abroad ; and observing Trinummus moving towards his house, immediately addresses him. A comic scene now ensues, in which the hireling talks of intimacy with Charmides ; also of being entrusted with letters and money by him : and on Charmides discovering himself, he is treated as an impostor. Hearing from Stasimus, the slave of Lesbonicus, that his

son had sold his house, Charmides considers himself ruined; but on entering his former home, and receiving an explanation, he finds that Callicles had acted with honour and kindness, which is the solution of the plot, filled up by an amicable contest between Lesbonicus, and the lover of his sister; the latter generously offering to take her without a portion, and the former refusing to give her away on such terms. It has been remarked, that the art of Plautus in the conduct of this comedy is much to be admired; the opening of it being highly interesting, and the incidents arising naturally out of each other; the whole concluding happily with the reformation of Lesbonicus, and the marriage of Lysiteles with his sister; it abounds also with excellent moral sentiments and reflections, and the same may be said of it, with equal justice, as of the *Captives*:

Ad pudicos mores facta est hæc fabula.

“ This play is founded on chaste manners.”

In the short prologue to this comedy, the characters of Luxury and Poverty are elegantly introduced, while the author has avoided the frequent fault of acquainting the audience with too much of the plot. It is as follows:

Luxury. (*To the Spectators.*)

Let any of you

Be lost in error, I'll in brief conduct you

In the right road, provided you will hear.

First then, and who I am, and who she is,

That enter'd here, I'll tell you, if you'll attend.

Plautus has given me the name of Luxury,

The other is my daughter, Poverty.

Now, at my impulse why she enter'd here,

Learn, and be all attention, while I tell.

There is a certain youth dwells in this house,

Who by my aid has squander'd his estate.

Since then for my support there's nothing left,

I've giv'n him my daughter, with whom to live.
 As for our play, expect not that I should tell
 The plot; the old men, who are coming hither,
 Will ope the matter to you.

The concluding scene of the first act ends with reflections by Megaronides, on tattling and calumny, applicable to all times and countries. He says

“ In truth there cannot be more errant dolts,
 More barefac'd liars, and more prating puppies,
 Than these officious fools, the busy-bodies.
 And I too should rank with them, thus to credit
 Their unjust suppositions. Ev'ry thing
 They will pretend to know, yet nothing know.
 They'll dive into your breast, and learn your thoughts
 Present and future; nay, they can discover
 What the king whisper'd in her highness' ear,
 And tell what past in Juno's chat with Jove.
 They know what never was, nor ever will be;
 Whether they praise, or dispraise right or wrong
 They care not, but invent whate'er they please.
 This Callicles, for instance—men's report
 Pronounc'd him for society unfit,
 For that he spoil'd a young man of his fortunes.
 I, prompted by their scandal, sallied forth
 To chide my friend, though blameless. Ill reports,
 Trac'd to their root, unless it will appear
 What ground and what authority they have,
 Should turn on those that spread them. Public good
 Requires it should be so. These idle chatterers,
 That know what they don't know, I fain would lessen
 And shut up their fool's tongues within their teeth.”

In Athens, the premier state of Greece, the slaves were generally well-treated, and frequently over-indulged. At Rome they were also kindly used, although seldom permitted

the same license as at Athens. The following dialogue in the fourth scene of the second act, will give the reader a tolerably fair idea of the freedom of manners between the master and his slave.

Enter Lesbonicus and Stasimus.

Lesbonicus.

'Tis under fifteen days, since forty minæ
You did receive from Callicles for this house.
Is it not, Stasimus, as I say?

Stasimus, (the slave.)

Methinks,

On due consideration I remember,
That so it is.

Lesbonicus.

What has been done with them?

Stasimus.

Ate, drunk, anointed, washed away in bagnios;
Cooks, butchers, poulterers, fishmongers, confectioners,
Perfumers, have devour'd them; gone as soon,
As is a grain of corn thrown to an ant.

Lesbonicus.

Why, all these must have cost less than six minæ.

Stasimus.

But what gave you the young ladies?

Lesbonicus.

I count

Six more for that.

Stasimus.

What, I have cheated?

Lesbonicus.

Oh!

In that indeed, my reckoning is most heavy.

Stasimus.

You cannot eat your cake, and have it too;¹

¹ Eat your cake, &c. In the original it is, Non tibi illud apparere, is sumas, potest.

Unless you think your money is immortal.
The fool too late, his substance eaten up,
Reckons the cost.

Lesbonicus.

The account is not apparent.

Stasimus.

Th' account's apparent, but the money's gone,
You did receive of Callicles forty minæ ;
He by assignment had your house.

Lesbonicus.

'Tis true.

Pholto.

(overhearing.)

Our neighbour then it seems has sold his house ;
And when his father from abroad returns,
He must e'en lodge him in the street, except
He creep into the body of his son.¹

Stasimus.

Count to the banker, due Olympic drachms
A thousand.

Lesbonicus.

I engag'd for.

Stasimus.

Threw away,

Say rather. You stood bound for a wild spark,
Whom you declared was rich.

Lesbonicus.

'Tis true I did so.

Stasimus.

'Tis true the money's gone.

Lesbonicus.

It is indeed.

I saw him in distress, and pitied him.

¹ The original is, Nisi forte in ventrem filio correperit, rather a more homely expression.

Stasimus.

For others you've compassion, for yourself
You've neither shame, nor pity.

This comedy has been imitated in the Dowry of Giovan. Maria Cecchi, although he adapted the ancient subject to Italian manners. The *Tresor Caché* of Destouches, is translated from *Trinummus*, with the addition of the character of Julie, daughter of the friend of an absent father, and the alteration of bringing forward on the stage Hortense, the sister of the dissipated young man. The German play, called *Schatz*, by Lessing, is also borrowed from the Latin. The scene in *Trinummus*, between Charmides and the counterfeit messenger, has given rise to one in Ariosto's *Suppositi*, and thence to another in Shakspeare's *Taming of the Shrew*; the disguise of the Pedant, assuming the name and character of Vincentio, together with his encountering the real Vincentio. An incident of the same kind, is also to be found in the old play of *Albumazar*, which appears to have been borrowed from that of Plautus.

Truculentus.—This play is called the Churl, the Latin word signifying rustick, clownish, ill-bred, morose; but as the character of Stratilax, the servant of Strabax, a country gentleman, is more that of a clownish ill-bred man, the name of the Rustic would have been better. The chief plot of this drama is formed on the fate of two lovers, whom Phronesium, a courtesan, had enticed to their ruin. After she had obtained the wealth of the infatuated Dinarchus, she lays her snares for Stratophanes, a Babylonian captain, to whom she pretends that she had borne a son, in order to prey on his property with more facility. The piece is chiefly occupied with her pretended pregnancy, her counterfeited solicitude, and her search for a supposititious child, to which she persuades her dupe that she had given birth, although it afterwards turns out to belong to a young lady, to whom her former lover Dinarchus, had been betrothed. Accord-

ing to Cicero, this comedy was a great favourite of Plautus; and it is not easy to imagine on what account it could be so; it is defective both in wit and humour; the character of Phronesium is a picture of a very worthless woman, without remorse or punishment. The Churl, or Truculentus, so far as regards the business of the drama, is a mere nobody; and whether we consider the incidents, or the moral, it appears to be one of the most inferior of his comedies.

Besides the above-mentioned twenty plays of Plautus, which have come down to us, there are some short fragments of other comedies now lost, the credit of which has been given to this author. These relics, although of little consequence in themselves, have been carefully collected by grammarians, as authorities for the use of ancient Latin words, either uncommon in themselves, or employed in an unusual sense.

There can be no doubt that Plautus, although almost the contemporary of Ennius, greatly improved and refined the Latin language; when we remember that he was condemned, during a considerable part of his life to the drudgery of severe manual labour; and, so far as we learn, neither distinguished like his predecessor, the father of Roman song, by the patronage of the great, nor admitted into Patrician society, it will be allowed that a very high degree of praise and honour is justly due to his name and memory. The style of Plautus excels in strength and spirit; owing to the purity of the Latin, in which his comedies are written, they are redde even at this day with pleasure. His principal excellence as a dramatist, consists in the wit and comic force of his dialogues. In his plots there is much spirited action, his incidents seldom flag, but quickly accelerate the catastrophe. It has been complained, that there is too great a uniformity in the fables of his plays; we should not forget, however, that the an-

cient comedy was a comedy of character, while the modern is one of intrigue. His portraits were drawn, at a time before the divisions of labour, and progress of refinement, had given existence to various descriptions of professions and artists, whose habits, singularities, and whims, have supplied modern writers with such a variety of materials, that little caricature is required in individual representation: besides the additional important circumstance, that private life, particularly where female character is concerned, is now far more open to observation than it was in the time of Plautus. It has been asserted, that the wit of this author frequently degenerates into buffoonery and quibbling, sometimes even into coarse indelicacy; and that, in his endeavours to excite laughter, he makes use of exaggerated expressions and extravagant actions; this was in a great measure owing to the immensity of the Roman theatres, and to the masks of the actors, which rendered caricature and grotesque inventions almost necessary to the production of due effect. We should recollect that the plays of Plautus were written to be acted, and not to be perused in the closet; that the laughter of the multitude for whom they were written, could be completely gratified only by the broadest grins of comedy; that the character of Roman wit in his day, consisted in rude sarcasm. It is a striking proof of the coarseness of his age, and also the succeeding ones, that personal deformity was even recommended and enforced, by the authority of the first authors, as one of the most legitimate sources of ridicule; indeed his audience, who crowded the theatre, did not go there to acquire taste, but to relax their minds by jest and laughter. With whatever severity criticism may attack the writings of Plautus, it is certain that he so fascinated the Roman people with the drollery of his wit, and the buffoonery of his scenes, that he continued the reigning favourite after the plays of Cæcilius and Terence had been represented, and that he held possession of the stage for the long period of five hundred

years, his comedies being acted with applause in the reign of the Emperor Dioclesian. Plautus was followed by

Cæcilius, who flourished 182 B.C.

He acquired this name on obtaining his freedom, having been originally a slave, and called by the appellation of Statius.¹ He was born at Milan, and was the intimate friend of Ennius; he died A.U.C. 586. Of the comedies of Cæcilius, which amounted to thirty in number, we have no remains; so that our opinion of their merits can only be formed from the criticisms of the Latin authors who wrote before they had perished. According to Varro, his plots were grave and affecting. The most interesting circumstance regarding this dramatic author now known is, that his patronage fostered the rising genius of

Terence, who flourished 166 B.C.

This great dramatist, the ornament of the Roman stage, was born at Carthage, about the 560th year of Rome, 193 B.C. He was in his earliest youth a slave of Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator, who perceiving him to be endowed with an excellent understanding and much wit, bestowed on him a liberal education, and gave him his freedom when still very young; and this munificent generosity of his master has been perpetuated to all time in the glory of his slave. Terence having obtained his freedom, became the companion and friend of Lælius, and the younger Scipio Africanus. He wrote six comedies, which have come down to us; and when he offered his first play, the *Andrian*, to the Ædiles, he was ordered to read it to Cæcilius.² On arriving at the poet's house, he found him at table; and

¹ Statius. It signifies a servile condition.

² Cæcilius died nearly two years before the representation of the *Andrian*, which was first acted A.U.C. 587; Terence, however, might have written, and redde it to him that length of time previous to its public appearance on the stage.

it is said, that our author, being but meanly dressed, was allowed to read the opening of his play, seated on a low stool near the couch of Cæcilius; but scarcely had he repeated a few lines, before Cæcilius starting up invited him to sit down to supper with him; after which Terence proceeded with his play, and finished it to the great admiration and delight of his intelligent host. Terence left Rome in the thirty-fifth year of his age, after having exhibited his six comedies still extant, and never again returned to it. The manner of his death is altogether uncertain. From one account, he perished at sea, on his return from Greece to Italy, bringing with him one hundred and eight plays translated from Menander; by another, he died at Stymphalus, in Arcadia, from grief at the loss of the comedies he had sent before him by sea to Rome: the former is believed to be the more correct statement. Terence is said to have been of middle stature, beautiful in person, elegant in manners, and of a dark complexion. He left a daughter, who was afterwards married to a Roman knight; and when lost, he was possessed of a house, with a garden containing six acres of land, on the Appian way, close by the Villa Martis.

Terence is deservedly considered as the prince of the Roman drama; like his predecessors, however, he copied from Menander, and other Greek writers. He is distinguished for art and talent in the structure of his fables, and in the delineation of his characters, also for the elegance of his language, and purity of his sentiments. Superior to Plautus in these qualifications, he was by no means equal to him in the comic energy and humour of his pieces, which are not calculated to excite ludicrous emotions. Julius Cæsar, himself an eminent historian, and a just critic, characterises his dramas as follows:—

Tu quoque, tu in summis, O dimidiate Menander,
Poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator.

Lenibus atque utinam scriptis adjuncta foret vis
 Comica, ut æquato virtus polleret honore
 Cum Græcis, neque in hac despectus parte jaceres;
 Unum hoc maceror et doleo tibi deesse, Terenti.

“ And thou, Oh thou among the first be plac’d,
 Ay, and deservedly, thou half Menander,
 Lover of purest dialogue! And oh,
 That humour had gone hand in hand with ease
 In all thy writings! that thy Muse might stand
 In equal honour with the Grecian stage,
 Nor thou be robb’d of more than half thy fame!
 This only I lament, and this I grieve
 There’s wanting in thee, Terence!”

Before proceeding to give a particular account of the plays of Terence, the author will first offer a few remarks on the various descriptions of verse used in dramatic literature. Comedy, as well as Tragedy, owed its origin to a rude kind of song; the former to the phallica, and the latter to the dithyrambic.¹ As each of them began to form themselves into dramatic imitations, a measure was adopted suited to their purpose; tragedy, the more lofty, chose the tetrameter; and comedy, which aimed at familiarity, took the iambic. As the style of tragedy improved, nature herself, says Aristotle, directed the writers to abandon the capering or dancing tetrameter, and to embrace that measure which was most accommodated to the purposes of dialogue; whence the iambic became the common measure for tragedy and comedy. The ancients considered that measure as essential to the drama; Menander and Apollodorus wrote in it; and Terence, who copied from them,

¹ Dithyrambic, from the hymns sung in honour of Bacchus; Dithyrambus was a surname of that god. Phallica, festivals observed by the Egyptians in honour of Osiris; they were imitated by the Greeks, and introduced into Europe by the Athenians.

followed their example, which has with propriety been adopted by the moderns. Shakspeare, Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, Shirley, all used blank verse¹ in their comedies. The English blank verse is happily conceived in the correct spirit of that elegant and magnificent simplicity which distinguishes the Grecian iambic, and an Alexandrine entirely consisting of iambic feet, answers precisely to a pure tetrametrical iambic verse of the ancients.² The Greek tragedy, as has been already observed, quitted the tetrameter for the natural iambic. Dryden, and his contemporary poets, attempted, however, to reverse this, in their curious productions, called heroic tragedies; introducing rhyme in the place of blank verse, asserting that the latter was nothing more than measured prose; which exactly agrees with the character given by Horace³ of the irregular iambic of the Roman comedy.

*The Andrian.*⁴—This play was acted in the 587th year of Rome, and the twenty-seventh of our author's age; it is

¹ The French consider mere prose to be too little elevated for the stage, and that excellent comedy, the *Avare* of Moliere, nearly failed by being written in that style. Voltaire, in the Supplement to his General History, tells us, that early in the sixteenth century the best pieces of Plautus were brought out in Italian at Venice; he says, "and they translated them into verse, as they ought to be translated, since it was in verse that they were written by Plautus."

² Professor Warton on the *Fairy Queen*, second edit. p. 135.

³ Nisi quod pede certo

Differt sermoni, sermo merus.

⁴ The *Andrian* was acted at the Megalesian games, instituted in honour of the superior gods. M. Fulvius and M. Glabrio, Curule Ædiles, who presided at the solemn games and public entertainments. Principal actors and managers of the company, L. Ambivius Turpio, and L. Attilius Prænestinus. The music composed for equal flutes, right and left-handed, by Flaccus, freed-man to Claudius. The right-handed, or Lydian flutes, by their grave tone denoted the serious style of the comedy; the left-handed, or Ty-

generally believed to be the first in point of time, and is usually considered the first in merit of the productions of Terence. Like most of his pieces it has a double plot, and is compounded of the *Andrian* and *Perinthian* of Menander; it does not appear, however, that he took his chief plot from one, and the under plot from another; but that he employed both to form his fable, and added the characters either from his own invention, or from a third play now lost. This play commences by Simo, the father of Pamphilus, informing Sosia, originally his slave, but now free, of his son's love for Glycerium. Owing to a report of this attachment getting abroad, Chremes refuses his daughter Philumena, who had previously been promised to Pamphilus in marriage. Simo, in order to ascertain the state of his son's affections, still pretends to continue his preparations for the nuptials; and Charinus, the actual lover of Philumena, is in despair at the prospect of such a union, but is comforted by the assurances of Pamphilus, that he will do every thing in his power to retard it. Davus, the slave of Pamphilus, discovers that it is not intended his master's marriage with the daughter of Chremes should proceed; he therefore advises Pamphilus to declare himself ready to obey his father's commands. The misunderstanding, however, being explained away by Simo to his old friend Chremes, the latter renews his consent to the marriage of Pamphilus with his daughter. In the meanwhile Glycerium gives birth to a child; but Simo is led by Davus to believe that her delivery is a mere stratagem to prevent the marriage of his son. Pamphilus is thus placed in a very perplexing situation with all parties. The attendants of his mistress Glycerium, by their light sharp sound implied the vivacity of the piece. When the play, as in this instance, was acted to both right and left-handed flutes, it denoted it to be serio-comic. It is wholly Grecian; which means, that species of comedy called *palliata*, in which the habits, manners, and arguments were all Grecian. Published, M. Marcellus, and Cn. Sulpicius, Consuls.

believe him false; Charinus thinks that he has deceived him, and having consented he is at a loss for an excuse to his father for not concluding the marriage. Davus, his slave, concocts new stratagems to stop the nuptials. He contrives that Chremes should overhear a conversation between him and Mysis, an attendant on Glycerium, regarding the child which her mistress bore to his master; and Chremes in consequence immediately breaks off his daughter's engagement. In this position of affairs, Crito arrives for the purpose of claiming heirship to Chrysis, a reputed sister of Glycerium, just deceased. He discloses, that Glycerium having been shipwrecked in infancy, had been preserved by his relation, the father of Chrysis; and from his account, it is discovered, that she is the daughter of Chremes, and that her name when a child was Pasibula. There now remains no obstacle to her marriage with Pamphilus, her father not only consenting, but gives her a fortune; and of course the other daughter of Chremes is united to Charinus.

Like other plays of Terence, the *Andrian* commences with a narrative beautiful in style, and calculated to excite an interest in the characters of his comedy. Simo is the representative of a good father, neither criminally indulgent nor excessively severe, and not so easily imposed upon by his slaves as the old gentlemen in Plautus; his remarks are just, arising from the results of age and experience. Chremes, although amiable, does not lead us to take the interest we feel for Simo. The part of Crito is happily imagined, and properly introduced; his awkward feelings on arriving to claim the wealth of a kinswoman of indifferent reputation, with his honest and straight-forward character, are cleverly unfolded. Much address has been shown by the poet in portraying the character of Chrysis, the supposed sister of Glycerium; she is represented as having for a long time struggled against adverse fortune, and of having finally been precipitated into vice rather by

pressure of poverty, than depravity of disposition. The pathetic description which Pamphilus gives of his last conference with her, at the hour of her death, is very beautiful; it leaves a pleasing impression, and induces us to forget her errors for the sake of her good qualities. Such an arrangement was necessary to prevent our forming a disadvantageous opinion of Glycerium, who had resided with Chrysis, but was to become the wife of Pamphilus, and to be acknowledged as the daughter of Chremes. The character of Davus is that of a shrewd cunning slave, entirely devoted to the interests of Pamphilus, often deterred from the execution of his stratagems by the dread of punishment from his old master; while Sosia has the reputation of an attached servant, faithful and honest.

To understand the feelings which originally induced Terence to dedicate his splendid talents to dramatic literature, to appreciate his frank confession of having borrowed from Menander, and the difficulties which he had to encounter from the envious malignity of his contemporaries, it appears judicious to insert the short prologue to the *Andrian*. He says:—

The bard, when first he gave his mind to write,
Thought it his only business, that his plays
Should please the people; but it now falls out,
He finds much otherwise, and wastes perforce,
His time in writing prologues, not to tell
The argument, but to refute the slanders
Broach'd by the malice of an older Bard.¹
And mark what vices he is charg'd withal!
Menander wrote the *Andrian* and *Perinthian*;
Know one, and you know both; in argument
Less diff'rent than in sentiment and style.
What suited with the *Andrian* he confesses

¹ This adversary of Terence, according to Donatus, was Lucius Lavinius.

From the Perinthian¹ he transferr'd, and us'd,
 For his ; and this it is these sland'ers blame,
 Proving by deep and learned disputation,
 That fables shou'd not be confounded thus.
 Truth ! all their knowledge is they nothing know ;
 Who blaming him, blame Nævius, Plautus, Ennius,
 Whose great example is his precedent ;
 Whose negligence he'd wish to emulate,
 Rather than their dark diligence. Henceforth,
 Let them, I give them warning, be at peace,
 And cease to rail, lest they be made to know
 Their own misdeeds. Be favourable ! sit
 With equal mind, and hear our play ; that hence
 You may conclude what hope to entertain,
 Whether the plays he may hereafter write
 Shall merit approbation or contempt.

In the last scene of the first act, an interview takes place between Pamphilus and Mysis, the attendant of Glycerium. The sentiments which Terence puts into the mouths of Pamphilus and the dying Chrysis, are so correct and beautiful, that they give a most favourable idea of the amiable feelings of the poet himself.

Mysis.

Alas ! I fear

Where this uncertainty will end. 'Twere best
 He should confer with her ; or I at least
 Speak touching her to him. For while the mind
 Hangs in suspense, a trifle turns the scale.

Pamphilus.

Who's there ? What Mysis ! Save you !

Mysis.

Save you ! Sir.

¹ The names of Andrian and Perinthian are taken, the former from the island of Andros, the latter from Perinthus, a town in Thrace.

Pamphilus.

How does she?

Mysis.

How! opprest with wretchedness.

To-day supremely wretched, as to-day
Was formerly appointed for your wedding.
And then she fears lest you desert her.

Pamphilus.

I!

Desert her? Can I think on't? or deceive
A wretched maid, who trusted to my care
Her life and honour! Her, whom I have held
Near to my heart, and cherish'd as my wife?
Or leave her modest and well-nurtur'd mind
Through want to be corrupted? Never, never.

Mysis.

No doubt, did it depend on you alone;
But if constrain'd—

Pamphilus.

D'ye think me then so vile?

Or so ungrateful, so inhuman, savage,
Neither long intercourse, nor love, nor shame,
Can move my soul, or make me keep my faith?

Mysis.

I only know, my mistress well deserves
You should remember her.

Pamphilus.

Remember her?

Oh, Mysis, Mysis! even at this hour,
The words of Chrysis touching my Glycerium
Are written in my heart. On her death-bed
She call'd me. I approach'd her; you retir'd,
We were alone; and Chrysis thus began.
'My Pamphilus, you see the youth and beauty
Of this unhappy maid; and well you know,
These are but feeble guardians to preserve
Her fortune or her fame. By this right hand

I do beseech you, by your better angel,
 By your tried faith, by her forlorn condition,
 I do conjure you, put her not away,
 Nor leave her to distress ! If I have ever,
 As my own brother, lov'd you ; or if she
 Has ever held you dear 'bove all the world,
 And ever shown obedience to your will,
 I do bequeath you to her as a husband,
 Friend, guardian, father ; all our little wealth
 To you I leave, and trust it to your care.'
 She join'd our hands, and died. I did receive her,
 And once receiv'd will keep her.

This comedy has been imitated in the *Andrienne* of Baron. The Latin names are preserved, and the first, second, and fifth acts are almost a translation from Terence. In the fourth act, instead of the marriage being interrupted by the stratagem of Davus as it is in the Latin play, Glycerium in a fit of jealousy is made to rush on the stage, throw herself at the feet of Chremes, and prevail on him to break off the intended match between Pamphilus and his daughter. It is considered much inferior in elegance and simplicity to its original. Steele's *Conscious Lovers* is another well-known imitation of the *Andrian* ; it commences in a similar manner with the Latin comedy, and Steele is believed to have unfolded his plot with more art, although greatly subordinate in delineation of character. The Latin play has likewise suggested the part of Moore's *Foundling* relating to the love of Belmont, and the recognition of Fidelia as the daughter of Sir Charles Raymond.

The Eunuch.¹—This appears to have been the most popular of all the comedies of Terence ; it was not only

¹ It was acted at the Megalesian games. L. Postumius Albinus, and L. Cornelius Merula, Curule Ædiles. Principal actors, L. Ambivius Turpio, and L. Attilius Prænestinus. The music composed

acted with the greatest applause, but the author received a considerable sum for it from the *Ædiles*, 8000 sesterces, about £60 of our money, and the highest reward a poet had yet obtained. The principal part of this play is taken from one by Menander bearing the same title; the characters of the parasite and captain introduced into it are from another of Menander's, named *Colax*. There was an old piece by *Nævius* founded on the latter, but Terence in his prologue denies having been indebted to it. The chief plot of the *Eunuch* is introduced by that which is secondary, although at first it has the appearance of being the principal one. *Phædria* comes on the stage venting his indignation at being excluded from the house of the courtesan *Thais* on account of *Thraso*, who is the sole braggart captain exhibited in the plays of this author. *Thais* succeeds, however, in persuading *Phædria*, that she would admit *Thraso* for only two days, to obtain from him the present of a girl who had originally belonged to her mother, but after her death had been sold to the captain. *Phædria*, not to be outdone by *Thraso*, promises to give *Thais* an Ethiopian eunuch. His younger brother, who is called *Chærea*, having accidentally seen the maid presented to *Thais* by the captain, falls desperately in love with her; and by the advice of his father's slave *Parmeno*, he exchanges clothes with the real eunuch *Dorus*, and by the stratagem is introduced into the house of *Thais*; where he takes an opportunity, when left alone with *Pamphila*, to gratify his passion, and afterwards details the adventure to his friend *Antipho*. After *Chærea* had gone away this occurrence is discovered; and *Pythia*, the waiting-maid of *Thais*, to be revenged on *Parmeno*, whom she correctly believes to be the instigator of the fraud, tells him that *Chærea* having been found out is to be made what he pretended to be. *Parmeno*, alarmed at such intelligence, for two right-handed flutes, by *Flaccus*, freed-man to *Claudius*. It is from the Greek of Menander. It was acted twice, *M. Valerius* and *C. Fannius*, Consuls; in the year of Rome 592, and 161 B.C.

immediately informs Chærea's father, who rushes to the house of Thais; where, being relieved of his apprehensions, and finding that Pamphila is an Athenian citizen, and the sister of Chremes, he consents that his younger son should repair his injury by marrying her. This comedy is full of vivacity and intrigue. Under the character of Thais, Menander is supposed to have given a representation of his own mistress Glycery. The braggart captain, and parasite, are much more refined personages than those of his predecessor Plautus. Thraso is made to supply the audience with mirth, without indulging in extravagant bluster. In the fourth act, where he calls together a few slaves to attack the house of Thais, assumes the air of a general, pretends to marshal and draw them up as if they formed an army, is most happily contrived to make him appear ridiculous; a new feature in his character is also introduced, his desire to be considered a wit as well as a warrior. Gnatho, the parasite, is made the master of a more delicate and artful mode of adulation than former flatterers, and supports his importance with the captain while he laughs at and lives on him: indeed, he boasts in the third scene of the second act, that he is the founder of a new class of parasites, who ingratiated themselves with men of wealth and shallow minds, by humouring their fancies, admiring what they said, and praising their sense and judgment; instead of gaining a livelihood by submitting to blows, ridicule, and other indignities, like the antiquated race of parasites mentioned in Plautus. In the prologue Terence acknowledges that he took this play from the Eunuch of Menander, and the Colax, another piece by the same writer. He says:—

“The truth is even thus,

The Colax is a fable of Menander,
Wherein is drawn the character of Colax,
The Parasite, and the vain-glorious soldier;
Which characters, he scruples not to own,
He to his Eunuch from the Greek transferr'd.”

This comedy has been imitated by Aretine, in his *La Talanta*; and by Fontaine, in the *Eunuque*, who modestly observes, that his work “is a mediocre copy of an excellent original;” instead of adapting the incidents to Parisian manners, Fontaine has retained the ancient names and customs. The first part is almost a translation of the Latin; but the succeeding alterations, with the exception of the last, are evidently in the spirit to combine gallantry with delicacy. The Eunuch is likewise the origin of *Le Muet*, by Bruyes, and Palaprat, who wrote in conjunction, like our Beaumont and Fletcher. Their play was first performed in 1691, and they have altered it to agree with the manners of their age and country, leaving it very inferior to the comedy of Terence. The only English imitation, is *Bellamira*, or the *Mistress*; a deservedly unsuccessful piece, by the witty and licentious Sir Charles Sedley, printed in 1687.

The Self-Tormentor.¹—This play, which is considered the least happy of the writings of Terence, is like the preceding comedies, from Menander. The author says, in his prologue,

“To-day, a whole play, wholly from the Greek,
We mean to represent—The Self-Tormentor;
Wrought from a single to a double plot.
Now therefore that our comedy is new,
And what it is, I’ve shown; who wrote it too,
And whose in Greek it is, were I not sure
Most of you know already, would I tell.”

¹ The Latin title of this play *Heautontimorumenos*, is derived from the Greek, being a compound of two words in that language, signifying, A Self-Tormentor. It was acted at the Megalesian games. L. Cornelius Lentulus, and L. Valerius Flaccus, Curule Ædiles: principal actors, L. Ambivius Turpio, and L. Attilius Prænestinus. The music composed by Flaccus, freed-man to Claudius. Taken from the Greek of Menander. Acted the first time with unequal flutes, afterwards with two right-handed ones. Published, M. Inventius, and M. Sempronius, Consuls.

Terence calls this play double; on what ground has not been decided, whether in allusion to the two plots it contains, or to his addition of new characters, remains uncertain. It takes its appellation from the voluntary punishment, inflicted on himself, by Menedemus, the father of Clinia, for his severity in having driven his son into banishment, through excessive harshness, who retires into the country, gives himself up to incessant daily toil, and lives on the coarsest fare. The deep distress of the father continues however but a short time, as Clinia is found to have returned in the third scene of the first act. The introduction of Bacchis, the mistress of Clitipho, first to the house of Chremes, and then to that of Menedemus, has given rise to some situations of an amusing description; but the stratagems adopted by Syrus, the slave of Clitipho, to deceive the old gentlemen are too far-fetched, and have little ingenuity, if we except the latter one, where in order to soften the heart of Chremes, he persuades him that Clitipho believed he was not his son, having in the first place put the idea into the mind of his master, and sent him to convey it to his father. There is great purity of style in the language of this comedy, and many beautiful maxims of morality are introduced. The part of this comedy, where the mistress of Clitipho is brought as Clinia's mistress into the house of the two old men, Menedemus and Chremes, is imitated in Chapman's play of *All Fools*, printed in 1605, and a popular production of its day.

*The Brothers.*¹—The principal subject of this play is

¹ Acted at the funeral games of Lucius Æmilius Paulus, surnamed Macedonicus from a victory he gained over Perseus, king of Macedon; given by Q. Fabius Maximus, and P. Cornelius Africanus. Principal actors, L. Attilius Prænestinus, and Mimetius Prothimus. The music composed for Lydian flutes by Flaccus, freed-man to Claudius. Taken from the Greek of Menander. L. Anicius and N. Cornelius Consuls.

believed to have been taken from the *Adelphoi* of Menander. We are informed in the prologue, that the part of the drama where the music-girl is carried off from the slave-merchant, was taken from the *Synapothnescontes* of Diphilus. The title is taken from two brothers, the contrast between whose characters forms the interest and amusement of the piece. Demea, the elder, had lived in the country, and past his days in labour, being remarkable for a saving and penurious disposition. Micio, the younger, was on the other hand distinguished by his kind and generous temper; being unmarried, he had adopted Æschinus, his brother's eldest son, whom he brought up in an indulgent manner, without laying much restraint on his conduct. Ctesipho, the other son of Demea, is educated with great strictness by his father, who contrasts his regular and moral conduct with that of the eldest, who is under the care of Micio. Æschinus now carries off a music-girl from a pander, which gives rise to fresh indignation on the part of Demea, and self-congratulation on the system of education he had adopted with Ctesipho. The deep distress of an unfortunate damsel, whom Æschinus had seduced under a promise of marriage, is here introduced; also that of her relations at such a proof of his alienated affections. At length it is discovered, that Æschinus had run off with the music-girl at the instigation, and for the sake of his brother Ctesipho; and the piece concludes with the union of Æschinus and the damsel to whom he was betrothed, with a complete change of disposition on the part of Demea, who becomes a convert to the system of his brother Micio. The plot of this comedy, in the first four acts, is managed by Terence with consummate skill. At the commencement, Micio summons his servant Storax; but as he does not answer, he concludes that Æschinus, his adopted son, had not yet returned from the party where he had supped the preceding evening. Micio's alarm leading him to reflection on the situation of the family, and the part he is acting, ex-

plains the interest with more art and delicacy, than in one of those long soliloquys in which domestic affairs are circumstantially mentioned to the audience. Demea is then introduced, who had just become acquainted with the circumstance of *Æschines* having carried off the music-girl; and who dwells on every minute particular which could exaggerate the offence, ignorant while doing so, that it is his favourite son, brought up by himself, who is the most guilty in the transaction. The grief of *Sostrata*, the mother of the damsel betrothed to *Æschinus*, and the honest anger of *Geta*, her faithful servant, are cleverly introduced; but the interview of *Micio* with his adopted son, after his discovery of this connection, is very beautiful. The delicate reproof of *Micio*, his mildness and affection, the natural bursts of passion, and ingenuous shame and grief of *Æschinus*, are highly characteristic of the tender and elegant genius of Terence. The comic part is formed by the gradation of rage and distress on the part of Demea, when rushing in he finds *Ctesipho* seated at a carousal with his brother's family, whom he considers so dissolute; and then discovers, that the music-girl had been carried off for the sake of his favourite son, previously looked upon as a paragon of perfection. Here the fable ought to end, as its incidents conclude. The conversion of Demea is not unnatural, considering that he had met with many mortifications, and been sadly imposed upon; still his immediate good humour and generosity are awkward, and not in keeping with the former part of the drama; while the inconsistency of making *Micio*, an old bachelor, out of complaisance to his friends marry the mother of the bride, whom he had seen but once, is a piece of extravagance verging upon absurdity. The incongruity of the concluding scenes has induced a German¹ translator of Terence to suppose, that they were not a component part of the regular comedy, but formed the *Exodium*, a kind of afterpiece,

¹ Schmieder, Halle, 1794.

in which the characters of the preceding play were represented in grotesque situations, and with overcharged colours.

The reflections which Terence causes Micio to make in his anxiety at the absence of Æschinus, to whom he is fondly attached, are beautiful, and characteristic of an amiable and clever man. He says—

The elder boy is by adoption mine ;
I've brought him up, kept, lov'd him as my own ;
Made him my joy, and all my soul holds dear,
Striving to make myself as dear to him.
I give, o'erlook, nor think it requisite
'That all his deeds should be controll'd by me,
Giving him scope to act as of himself ;
So that the pranks of youth, which other children
Hide from their fathers, I have us'd my son
Not to conceal from me. For whosoe'er
Hath won upon himself to play the false one,
And practise impositions on a father,
Will do the same with less remorse to others ;
And 'tis in my opinion better far,
To bind your children to you by the ties
Of gentleness and modesty than fear.
And he, I think, deceives himself indeed,
Who fancies that authority more firm
Founded on force, than what is built on friendship ;
For thus I reason, thus persuade myself—
He who performs his duty, driven to't
By fear of punishment, while he believes
His actions are observ'd, so long he's wary ;
But if he hope for secresy, returns
To his own ways again. But he whom kindness,
Him also inclination makes your own.
He burns to make a due return, and acts,
Present or absent, evermore the same.
'Tis this, then, is the duty of a father,

To make a son embrace a life of virtue
 Rather from choice, than terror or constraint.
 Here lies the mighty difference between
 A father and a master. He who knows not
 How to do this, let him confess he knows not
 How to rule children.

The burst of passionate distress from *Æschinus* at the natural suspicions of his desertion and falsehood towards his betrothed, with the amiable and generous feelings of *Micio*, who contents himself with a little delicate raillery, the only punishment which he inflicts on the former for his imprudence, are thus beautifully portrayed.

Æschinus. (alone.)

Oh torture to my mind! that this misfortune
 Should come thus unexpectedly upon me!
 I know not what to do, which way to turn.
 Fear shakes my limbs, amazement fills my soul,
 And in my breast despair shuts out all counsel.
 Ah, by what means can I acquit myself?
 Such a suspicion is now fallen on me;
 And that so grounded on appearances.
 Sostrata thinks that on my own account
 I bought the music-girl; that's plain enough
 From the old nurse. * *

I saw

Immediately their cause of jealousy;
 Yet I contain'd myself, nor would disclose
 My brother's business to a tattling gossip,
 By whom the knowledge on't might be betray'd.
 But what shall I do now? Shall I confess
 The girl to be my brother's; an affair
 Which should by no means be reveal'd? But not
 To dwell on that. Perhaps they'd not disclose it.
 So many proofs against myself;
 I bore her off, I paid the money down,

She was brought home to me. All this, I own,
 Is my own fault. For should I not have told
 My father, be it as it might, the whole?
 I should, I doubt not, have obtain'd his leave
 To marry Pamphila. What indolence
 Ev'n till this hour! Now Æschinus, awake!
 But first, I'll go and clear myself to them.
 I'll to the door. (*goes up.*) Confusion! how I tremble!
 How guilty-like I seem, when I approach
 This house! (*knocks.*) Hola! within! 'Tis I,
 'Tis Æschinus. Come, open somebody
 The door immediately! Who's here? a stranger!
 I'll step aside. (*retires.*)

Micio to Sostrata within.

Do as I've told you, Sostrata.
 I'll find out Æschinus, and tell him all.
 But who knock'd at the door? (*coming forward.*)

Æschinus. (behind.)

By heav'n, my father!

Confusion!

Micio. (seeing him.)

Æschinus!

Æschinus. (aside.)

What does he here?

Micio.

Was't you that knock'd? What, not a word? Suppose
 I banter him a little; he deserves it
 For never trusting this affair to me. (*aside.*)
 Why don't you speak?

Æschinus.

Not as I remember. (*disorder'd.*)

Micio.

No, I dare say not, not you; for I was wond'ring
 What bus'ness could bring you here. He blushes.
 All's safe, I find. (*aside.*)

Æschinus. (*recovering.*)

But I pray you, tell me, what brought you here?

Micio.

No business of my own;
But a friend drew me hither from the forum,
To be his advocate.

Æschinus.

In what?

Micio.

I will tell you.

This house is tenanted by some poor women,
Whom, I believe, you know not; nay, I'm sure on't,
For 'twas but lately they came over hither.

Æschinus.

Well?

Micio.

A young woman, and her mother.

Æschinus.

Well?

Micio.

The father's dead. This friend of mine, it seems,
Being her next relation, by the law
Is forc'd to marry her.¹

Æschinus.

Confusion! (*aside.*)

Micio.

How?

Æschinus.

Nothing. Well? pray go on, Sir.

Micio.

He is now come
To take her home, being of Miletus.

Æschinus.

How! take her home with him?

¹ This appears to have been a law in force among the Athenians, as it was among the Jews.

Micio.

Yes.

Æschinus.

Oh torture! (*aside.*)

But what say the women?

Micio.

Why, what should they? nothing.
Indeed, the mother has devis'd a tale
About her daughter's having had a child
By some one else, but never mentions whom;
His claim, she says, is prior, and my friend
Ought not to have her.

Æschinus.

Well? And did not this
Seem a sufficient reason?

Micio.

No.

Æschinus.

No, Sir?

And shall this next relation take her off?

Micio.

Ay, to be sure; why not?

Æschinus.

Oh, barbarous, cruel!
And to speak plainly, Sir, ungenerous.

Micio.

Why so?

Æschinus.

Why so, Sir! What d'ye think
Will come of him, the poor unhappy youth
Who was connected with her first; who still
Loves her, perhaps, as dearly as his life;
When he shall see her torn out of his arms,
And borne away for ever! Oh shame, shame!

Micio.

Where is the shame on't? Who betroth'd, who gave her?
When was she married? and to whom? Where is he?
And wherefore did he wed another's right?

Æschinus.

Was it for her, a girl of such an age,
To sit at home, expecting till a kinsman
Came, nobody knows whence, to marry her?
This, Sir, it was your business to have said,
And to have dwelt on it.

Micio.

Ridiculous!

Should I have pleaded against him for whom
I came an advocate? But after all,
What's this affair to us? or what have we
To do with them? Let's go. Ha! why those tears?

Æschinus.

Father, I beseech you, hear me!

Micio.

Æschinus,

I have heard all, and I know all, already;
For I do love you, wherefore all your actions
Touch me the more.

Æschinus.

So may you ever love me,
And so may I deserve that love, my father,
As I am sorry to have done this fault,
And am ashamed to see you!

Micio.

I believe it,

For well I know you have a liberal mind;
But I'm afraid you are too negligent.
For in what city do you think you live?
You have abus'd a virgin, whom the law
Forbad your touching. 'Twas a fault, a great one;
But yet a natural failing. Many others,

Some not bad men, have often done the same.
 But after this event, can you pretend
 You took the least precaution? or consider'd
 What should be done, or how? If shame forbad
 Your telling me yourself, you should have found
 Some other means to let me know of it.
 Lost in these doubts, ten months have slipt away.
 You have betray'd, so far as in you lay,
 Yourself, the poor young woman, and your child.
 What! did you think the gods would bring about
 This business in your sleep; and that your wife,
 Without your stir, would be convey'd to you,
 Into your dwelling-house? I would not have you
 Thus negligent in other matters. Come,
 Cheer up, son! You shall wed her!

Æschinus. (alone.)

How's this?

Is this to be a father? or is this
 To be a son? Were he my friend or brother,
 Could he be more complacent to my wish?
 Should I not love him? bear him in my bosom?
 Ah! his great kindness has so wrought upon me,
 That it shall be the study of my life
 To shun all follies, lest they give him pain.

A play possessing so many excellencies could hardly fail to be frequently copied by modern dramatists. The *Ecole des Maris*, of Moliere, is generally considered to have been borrowed from *The Brothers*; this feeling appears to arise more from the circumstance of Moliere having translated some passages almost literally from the comedy of Terence, than from any continued resemblance. The *Ecole des Peres*, of Baron, is, however, a much closer imitation. It opens with an elegant but tolerably close version of the first act of the Latin play, although his subsequent alterations render it an imperfect image; on the whole his version is

an indifferent one, and neither ranks as an able original, nor as a good copy. In our own language, the Squire of Alsatia, by Shadwell, is also founded on the Latin; but the muse of White Friars puts on but an indifferent appearance when ranked with that of Athens and Rome. Shadwell's play, though drawn from so pure a source, resembles more a farce of five acts than a comedy; while its most prominent features are low licentiousness, and gross vulgarity. The beautiful philanthropy exhibited in the speeches of Micio, have proved a constant resource both to the authors of the French drama, and to those of our own country.

*The Step-Mother.*¹—This play was an abridgment of a Greek comedy by Apollodorus; the fable is more simple than that of Terence's other pieces, in which he has had recourse to the expedient of double plots. When first exhibited, A.U.C. 589, it was interrupted, as the prologue tells us:—

“ When I first

Began to play this piece, the sturdy boxers,
(The dancers on the rope expected too)
Th' increasing crowds, the noise, and women's clamour,
Oblig'd me to retire before my time.
I upon this occasion, had recourse
To my old way. I brought it on again.
In the first act I please; meanwhile there spreads
A rumour of the gladiators;² then

¹ Exhibited at the Megalesian games. Sextus Julius Cæsar, and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, Curule Ædiles. It was not acted throughout. The music composed for equal flutes by Flaccus, freed-man to Claudius. It is from the Greek of Apollodorus. At first it was acted without a prologue, Cn. Octavius and T. Manlius Consuls, and brought forward again at the funeral games of Æmilius Paulus; it did not please. It was acted a third time, when Q. Fulvius and L. Marcius were Curule Ædiles; principal actor, L. Ambivius Turpio; it then succeeded.

² On its second exhibition, A.U.C. 594.

The people flock together, riot, roar,
And fight for places. I meanwhile my place
Could not maintain. To-day there's no disturbance,
All's silence and attention, a clear stage ;
'Tis yours to give these games their proper grace."

The talented actor L. Ambivius Turpio, encouraged by his success in reviving the condemned plays of Cæcilius, brought the Step-mother a third time before a Roman audience; when it received a patient hearing, and was frequently repeated. To form the plot of this comedy, Pamphilus, a young man, is represented as refusing to marry, from a long attachment he had entertained for a courtesan named Bacchis; at length he is constrained by his father to take a wife, whose gentle and kind behaviour soon wean his affections from his mistress. The death of a relation at Imbrus, to whom Pamphilus is heir, obliges him to leave home for some time; and his wife, on pretence that she cannot agree with her mother-in-law, quits the house of her husband, and returns to that of her parents. Pamphilus, when he comes home, finds that Philumena had given birth to a child, of which he, as her husband, could not be the father. His wife's mother entreats of him to conceal her disgrace, which he promises, and assigns as his reason for not bringing her back to his own house her capricious conduct towards his mother. That parent, anxious for his happiness, offers to retire into the country; but Pamphilus still proving unwilling to take her home, his father suspects that he had renewed his connection with Bacchis. He accordingly sends for her; she denies the existence of any present correspondence with his son, and generously eager to clear the character, as well as to secure the happiness of her former lover, she offers to confirm her statement before the family of the wife of Pamphilus. This brings on the catastrophe; for during the interview, that lady's mother, Myrrhina, ob-

serves on her finger a ring which formerly belonged to her daughter; and Bacchis acknowledges to have received it from Pamphilus, as one which he had taken from a damsel whom he had met and forced, while flushed with wine, taking advantage of the night and darkness, but whose features he had never seen. It now turns out, that the lady to whom Pamphilus had done this injury is his own wife Philumena, and that he himself is the father of the child of which she had just been confined. Some of the scenes in this comedy are ably portrayed, particularly in the second scene of the first act, where Parmeno contrasts the conduct of an amiable wife, who had succeeded in effacing the love of her husband from a licentious courtesan. He says:—

“ For when he had examin’d well himself
Bacchis, and her at home; and had compar’d
Their different manners; seeing that his bride,
After the fashion of a liberal mind,
Was decent, modest, patient of affronts,
And anxious to conceal the wrongs he did her;
Touch’d partly with compassion for his wife,
And partly tir’d with t’other’s insolence,
He by degrees withdrew his heart from Bacchis,
Transferring it to her whose disposition
Was so congenial to his own.”

The character of Sostrata, the mother of Pamphilus, is also that of a kind and feeling woman. In the delineation of the generous conduct of Bacchis, Terence has, as in his parasite, introduced a superior character, not altogether lost, but still desirous of earning a reputation as superior to others of her profession. Pamphilus is likewise placed in an interesting and favourable point of view; while the two old fathers nearly resemble each other, being both avaricious and irritable, ready to vent their bad humour on their wives and children; and Parmeno, the slave of Pam-

philus, is a lazy inquisitive person, kept during the course of the piece in continual occupation, and ignorance of the important circumstances. The old critics speak of this play as greatly inferior to the others of Terence. Bishop Hurd, however, in his notes on Horace, asserts that it is the only one of his comedies in the true style of the ancient Greeks; and that for the genuine beauty of dramatic design, as well as the nice coherence of the fable, it must appear to every reader of true taste, the most masterly and exquisite of the whole collection. Notwithstanding the bishop's *must*, and some partial beauties, this comedy has not fair pretensions to rank either with the *Andrian*, the *Eunuch*, or the *Brothers* of Terence. The opinion of Volcatius is much nearer the truth, when he says—

Sumetur Hecyra¹ sexta ex iis fabula.

“The last and least in merit of the six.”

Phormio.²—Like the preceding comedy, this was taken from a Greek play of Apollodorus; the prologue says—

“To day I bring a new play, which the Greeks
Call Epidicazomenos;³ the Latins,
From the chief character, name Phormio;
Phormio, whom you will find a parasite,
And the chief engine of the plot. And now,
If to our poet you are well inclin'd,
Give ear, be favourable; and be silent.
Let us not meet the same ill-fortune now,

¹ Hecyra, or the Step-mother.

² Acted at the Roman sports, L. Posthumius Albinus, and L. Cornelius Merula, Curule Ædiles; principal actors, L. Ambivius Turpio, and L. Attilius Prænестinus. The music composed for unequal flutes, by Flaccus, freed-man to Claudius. Taken entirely from the *Epidicazomenos* of Apollodorus. Acted four times, C. Fannius and M. Valerius, Consul; A.U.C. 594, and 159 B.C.

³ Epidicazomenos, a Greek word, signifying a person who demands justice of another.

That we before encounter'd, when our troop
Was by a tumult driven from the place."

This play has been called *Phormio* by Terence, from a parasite, whose contrivances, assisted by Geta, the servant, form the ground-work, and connect its double plot. In this comedy two brothers had gone abroad, each leaving a son at home, one named Antipho and the other Phædria, under the care of Geta. Antipho falls in love with a beautiful girl apparently of mean condition; and in order that he might marry her, and still be able to excuse himself to his father Demipho on his return, persuades Phormio to assume the character of her patron, and to bring an action against him as her nearest of kin. Antipho making no defence, is compelled in this capacity, according to the Athenian law, to marry the supposed orphan Phanium. While this is going on, Phædria, the other youth, becomes enamoured of a music-girl, but has no money to redeem her from the slave-merchant. The old gentlemen, on their return home, are greatly disconcerted by the intelligence of Antipho's marriage, as it had been arranged between them that he was to be united to his cousin. At the suggestion of Geta, Phormio takes advantage of this distress; and in order to obtain a sum to redeem the music-girl with whom Phædria had become enamoured, he consents to take Antipho's wife home to himself, provided he gets a portion with her of thirty minæ, which being paid to him is immediately laid out in the purchase of the music-girl for Phædria. It is now discovered, that Antipho's wife is the daughter of his uncle Chremes, by a woman of Lemnos, with whom he had an intrigue fifteen years back, and that she had come to Athens in search of her father. Of course the idea of a divorce, and handing her over to the parasite, is abandoned, and the piece concludes with an unsuccessful attempt to make Phormio refund the thirty minæ he had received. In the construction of this fable

there is great art displayed, and its vivacity and humour are superior, in the author's opinion, to any other play of Terence, not excepting the Eunuch. The diction is pure and elegant; the character of Phormio is of a higher cast, and more ably drawn than any parasite in Plautus. Nausistrata is a lively sketch of a shrewish wife, and her better half, Chremes, is an excellent draught of a hen-pecked husband.

The same method is followed by Terence in this comedy that he pursues in some others—the introduction of a protatic personage, a character foreign to the fable, who informs the audience of so much as is necessary for them to know. Thus—

Davus. (alone.)

Geta, my worthy friend and countryman,
 Came to me yesterday. For some time past
 I've ow'd him some small balance of account;
 This he desir'd I would make up. I have,
 And brought it with me. For his master's son,
 I am inform'd, has lately got a wife;
 So I suppose this sum is scrap'd together
 For a bride-gift. Alack, how hard it is,
 That he who is already poor, should still
 Throw in his mite, to swell the rich man's heap!
 What he scarce, ounce by ounce, from short allowance,
 Sorely defrauding his own appetite,
 Has spar'd, poor wretch! shall she sweep all at once,
 Unheeding with what labour it was got.
 Geta, moreover, shall be struck for more;
 Another gift when madam's brought to bed;
 Another too, when master's birth-day's kept,
 And they initiate him.¹ All this mamma
 Will carry off, the bantling her excuse.

¹ It is supposed this means in the mysteries of Ceres, which initiation took place when very young.

Here Geta enters, and fully explains the circumstances as mentioned above ; some of his statements are both humorous and pathetic. Describing his being left guardian to Antipho and Phædria, he says—

“ At their departure,
The two old gentlemen appointed me
A kind of governor to both their sons.

Davus.

A hard task, Geta !

Geta.

In truth, I found it so.
My angry Genius for my sins ordain'd it.
At first I took upon me to oppose.
In short, while I was trusty to th' old man,
The young one made my shoulders answer for it.

Datus.

So I suppose ; for what a foolish task
To kick against the pricks.¹

Geta.

I then resolv'd,
To give them their own way in ev'ry thing.

Davus.

Ay, then you made your market.

Geta.

Our young spark
Play'd no mad pranks at first. But Phædria
Got him immediately a music-girl,
Fond of her to distraction ! Near the school
Whither she went to take her lessons stood
A barber's shop, wherein most commonly
We waited her return. Hither one day

¹ *Adversum stimulum calces*, “ to kick against the pricks ;” originally an old Greek proverb. In Acts, chap. ix. ver. 5. the same expression is used, “ It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.”

Came a young man in tears ; we were amaz'd,
 And ask'd the cause. ' Never,' said he, and wept,
 ' Did I suppose the weight of poverty
 A load so sad, so insupportable,
 As it appear'd but now. I saw just now,
 Not far from hence, a miserable virgin
 Lamenting her dead mother. Near the corpse
 She sat ; nor friend, nor kindred, nor acquaintance,
 Except one poor old woman, was there near
 To aid the funeral. I pitied her.
 Her beauty too was exquisite.' In short,
 He mov'd us all ; and Antipho at once
 Cried, ' Shall we go and visit her?' ' Why, ay,
 I think so,' said the other, ' let us go !
 Conduct us, if you please.' We went, arriv'd,
 And saw her. Beautiful she was indeed !
 More justly to be reckon'd so, for she
 Had no additions to set off her beauty.
 Her hair dishevell'd, barefoot, woe-be-gone,
 In tears, and miserably clad ; that if
 The life and soul of beauty had not dwelt
 Within her very form, all these together
 Must have extinguish'd it. The spark, possess'd
 Already with the music-girl, just cried,
 ' She's well enough.' But our young gentleman—

Davus.

Fell, I suppose, in love.

Geta.

In love indeed.

But mark the end ! Next day away he goes
 To the old woman straight, beseeching her
 To let him have the girl. ' Not she indeed !
 Nor was it like a gentleman,' she said,
 ' For him to think on't. She's a citizen,
 An honest girl, and born of honest parents.
 If he would marry her indeed by law,

He might do that, on no account aught else.'
 Our spark distracted, knew not what to do;
 At once he long'd to marry her, at once
 Dreaded his absent father.

Davus.

Would not he,
 Had he return'd, have given consent?

Geta.

To wed
 A girl of neither family nor fortune—
 Never.

Davus.

What then?

Geta.

What then! Here is a parasite,
 One Phormio, a bold enterprising fellow,
 Whom, may all the gods confound!

Davus.

What did he!

Geta.

Gave us the following counsel, 'There's a law
 That orphan girls should wed their next of kin,
 Which law obliges too, their next of kin
 To marry them. I'll say, that you're her kinsman,
 And sue a writ against you. I'll pretend
 To be her father's friend, and bring the cause
 Before the judges. Who her father was,
 Her mother who, and how she's your relation,
 All this sham evidence I'll bring, by which
 The cause will turn entirely in my favour.
 You shall disprove no tittle of the charge;
 So I succeed. Your father will return
 Prosecute me; what then? The girl's our own.

Davus.

A pleasant piece of impudence.

Geta.

It pleas'd
Our spark at least. He put it into practice ;
Came into court ; and he was cast and married.

In the second act our dramatist has exhibited an inimitable scene of roguery and effrontery on the part of Phormio, and of perplexity on the side of Demipho, who brings with him three lawyers, Hegio, Cratinus, and Crito, but who is nevertheless overmatched by the address and coolness of the parasite.

Demipho.

Was ever man so grossly treated, think ye ?
This way, sirs, I beseech you.

Geta.

He's enrag'd !

Phormio.

Hist ! mind your cue ; I'll work him.

(*coming forward and speaking aloud.*) Oh, ye gods !
Does he deny that Phanium's his relation ?
What Demipho ! Does Demipho deny
That Phanium is his kinswoman ?

Geta.

He does.

Phormio.

And who her father was he does not know ?

Geta.

No.

Demipho. (*to the Lawyers.*)

Here's the very fellow, I believe,
Of whom I have been speaking. Follow me !

Phormio. (*aloud.*)

And that he does not know, who Stilpho was ?

Geta.

No.

Phormio.

Ah, because poor thing, she's left in want,
Her father is unknown, and she despis'd.
What will not avarice do?

Geta.

If you insinuate
My master's avaricious, woe be to you!

Demipho.

(behind.)

Oh, impudence! he dares accuse me first.

Phormio.

As to the youth, I cannot take offence,
If he had not much knowledge of him, since
Now in the vale of years, in want, his work,
His livelihood, he nearly altogether
Liv'd in the country, where he held a farm
Under my father. I have often heard
The poor old man complain, that this his kinsman
Neglected him. But what a man! a man
Of most exceeding virtue.

Geta.

Much as one.

Yourself, and he you praise so much.

Demipho. (putting Geta aside, and then addressing Phormio.)

Young man, permit me first to ask one question,
And if you please, vouchsafe to answer me.
Who was this friend of yours? Explain! and how
Might he pretend that I was his relation?

Phormio.

So! you fish for't, as if you didn't know. *(Sneeringly.)*

Demipho.

Not I; you that maintain
I ought, instruct me how to recollect.

Phormio.

What not acquainted with your cousin?

Demipho.

Plague !

Tell me his name.

Phormio.

His name ? ah !

Demipho.

Well, why don't you ?

*Phormio.*Confusion ! I've forgot the name.¹ (*apart.*)*Demipho.*

What say you ?

Phormio.

Geta, if you remember, prompt me.

(*apart to Geta.*) Pshaw !

I will not tell. As if you didn't know,

You're come to try me. (*aloud to Demipho.*)*Demipho.*

How ! I try you ?

Geta.

Stilpho.

(*whispering Phormio.*)*Phormio.*

What is't to me ? Stilpho.

Demipho.

Whom say you ?

Phormio.

Stilpho ;

Did you know Stilpho, Sir ?

Demipho.

I neither know him ;

Or even had I kinsman of that name.

¹ In the *Trinummus* of Plautus, where a similar character like Phormio is employed to carry on an imposture, he also forgets the name of the person from whom he pretends to come ; and what renders the circumstance more amusing is, that he happens to be engaged in conversation with the very person himself.

Phormio.

How ; are you not ashamed ? But if, poor man,
Stilpho had left behind him an estate
Of some ten talents.

Demipho.

Out upon you.

Phormio.

Then

You would have been the first to trace your line,
Quite from your grandsire and great grandsire.

Demipho.

True ;

Had I then come, I'd have explain'd at large
How she was my relation. So do you !
Say, how is she my kinswoman ?

Geta.

Well said,

Master, you're right. Take heed ! (*apart to Phormio.*)

Phormio.

I have explain'd

All that most clearly, where I ought, in court.
If it were false, why did not then your son
Refute it ?

Demipho.

Do you tell me of my son,
Whose folly can't be spoke of as it ought ?

Phormio.

But you, who are so wise, go, seek the judge,
Ask sentence in the self-same cause again.
Because you're lord alone, and alone have
Pow'r to obtain the judgment of the court
Twice in one cause. (*sneeringly.*)

Demipho.

Although I have been wrong'd,
Yet rather than engage in litigation,

And rather than hear you, as if she were
Indeed related to us, as the law
Ordains, I'll pay her dowry. Take her hence,
And with her take five minæ.¹

Phormio.

Ha! ha! A pleasant gentleman!

Demipho.

Why, what's the matter?
Have I demanded anything unjust?
Shant I obtain this either, which is law?

Phormio.

I'st even so, sir? Like a common harlot
When you've abus'd her, does the law ordain
That you should pay her hire, and whistle her off?
Or, lest a citizen through poverty
Bring shame upon her honour, does it
That she be given to her next of kin,
To pass her life with him? which you forbid.²

Demipho.

Ay, to her next of kin. But why to us,
Or wherefore?

Phormio.

Oh! that matter is settled;
Think on't no more.

¹ According to Cooke's table of Attic money—

The Obolus was equal to	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$
6 Oboli were equal to a Drachma ..	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
100 Drachmæ to a Mina	£3 4 7
20 Minæ	64 11 8
60 Minæ, equal to a Talent.....	193 15 0

The Obolus was brass, the rest were silver. Terence mentions the half-mina in his *Brothers*; it was a single coin, equal to £1 12s 3½d.

² The Athenians, who were a very witty and scandalizing people, would in all probability greatly enjoy this exquisite delineation of the parasite's cool roguery.

Demipho.

One word more, I've done.

See that you fetch away this girl, and soon,
Or I shall turn her headlong out of doors.
So much for Phormio!

Phormio.

Offer but to touch her,
In any other manner than beseems
A gentlewoman and a citizen,
And I shall bring a swinging writ against you.
So much for Demipho! If I'm wanted,
I am at home, d'ye hear? (*apart to Geta.*)

Geta.

I understand.

Demipho.

With how much care, and what solicitude,
My son affects me, with this wretched match
Having embroil'd himself and me! nor comes
Into my sight, that I might know at least
Or what he says, or thinks of this affair.
Go you, and see if he's come home, or no.

Geta.

I'm gone. (*exit.*)

Demipho. (*to the Lawyers.*)

You see, sirs, how this matter stands.
What shall I do? say, Hegio!

Hegio.

Meaning me?

Cratinus, please you, should speak first.

Demipho.

Say then, Cratinus!

Cratinus.

Me d'ye question?

Demipho.

You.

Cratinus.

Then I,

Whatever steps are best, I'd have you take.
 Thus it appears to me. Whate'er your son
 Has in your absence done, is null and void,
 In law and equity. And so you'll find.
 That's my opinion.

Demipho.

Say now, Hegio?

Hegio.

He has, I think, pronounc'd most learnedly.
 But so 'tis; many men, and many minds!
 Each has his fancy; now, in my opinion,
 Whate'er is done by law, can't be undone.
 'Tis shameful to attempt it.

Demipho.

Say you, Crito!

Crito.

The case, I think, asks more deliberation.
 'Tis a nice point.

Hegio.

Would you aught else with us?

*Demipho.*You've utter'd oracles. (*exeunt Lawyers.*)

I'm more uncertain

Now, than I was before.

It is difficult to imagine any thing more truly comic than the above scene; its dry gravity of humour in some measure redeems the charge brought against Terence for the want of that qualification in his plays. The fifth act commences with another scene of great humour, in which Demipho and Chremes endeavour to recover the thirty minæ paid to Phormio, to induce him to take back the young damsel that Antipho had married, but who had handed it over to Phædria to redeem the music girl. Here the parasite again proves too many for his opponents; while the amusing part

of the scene is heightened by the terrors of Chremes, who has the misfortune to be a hen-pecked husband.

Demipho and Chremes enter, and soon after Phormio.

Demipho.

Well may we thank the gracious gods, good brother,
That all things have succeeded to our wish.
But now let's find out Phormio with all speed,
Before he throw away our thirty minæ.

Phormio (pretending not to see them.)

I'll go and see if Demipho's at home.
That I may—

Demipho (meeting him.)

We were coming to you, Phormio.

Phormio.

On the old score, I warrant.

Demipho.

Ay.

Phormio.

I thought so.

Why should you go to me? Ridiculous!
Were you afraid I should break my contract with you?
No, no! how great soe'er my poverty,
I have always shown myself a man of honour,
And therefore was I coming, Demipho,
To let you know, I'm ready to receive
My wife whene'er you please. For I postpon'd
All other business, as indeed I ought,
Soon as I found you were so bent on this.¹

Demipho.

Ay, but my brother has dissuaded me
From going any further in this business,

¹ In the author's opinion, such language in the mouth of the parasite, is the perfection of satirical wit; Phormio being aware of the discovery which had induced the old gentleman to change their minds.

' For how will people talk of it?' says he
 ' At first you might have done it handsomely ;
 ' But then you'd not consent to it ; and now
 ' To think of a divorce, is infamous !'
 In short he urg'd almost the very things,
 That you so lately charg'd me with yourself.

Phormio.

You trifle with me, gentlemen.

Demipho.

How so ?

Phormio.

How so ? Because I cannot marry t'other,
 With whom I told you I was first in treaty.
 For with what face can I return to her,
 Whom I have held in such contempt ?

Chremes. (prompting Demipho.)

Tell him,

Antipho does not care to part with her.

Demipho.

And my son too don't care to part with her ;
 Step to the forum then, and give an order
 For the repayment of our money, Phormio.

Phormio.

What ! when I've paid it to my creditors ?

Demipho.

What's to be done then ?

Phormio.

Give me but the wife,
 To whom you have betroth'd me, and I'll wed her.
 But if you'd rather she should stay with you,
 The portion stays with me, good Demipho.
 For 'tis not just, I should be bubbled by you ;
 When to retrieve your honour, I've refus'd
 Another woman with an equal fortune.

Demipho.

A plague upon your idle vapouring,
You vagabond! D'ye fancy we don't know you?
You, and your fine proceedings?

Phormio.

You provoke me.

Demipho.

Why, would you marry her, if proffer'd?

Phormio.

Try me.

Demipho.

What! that my son may keep her privately
At your house? That was your intention.

Phormio.

Ha!

What say you, sir?

Demipho.

Give me my money, Sirrah!

Phormio.

Give me my wife, I say.

Demipho.

To justice with him!

Phormio.

To justice? Now, by heaven, gentlemen,
If you continue to be troublesome—

Demipho.

What will you do?

Phormio.

What will I do? Perhaps,
You think I can only patronize
Girls without portion; but be sure of this,
I've some with portions too.

Chremes.

What's that to us?

Phormio.

Nothing. I know a lady here, whose husband—
(*carelessly.*)

Chremes.

Ha!

Demipho.

What's the matter?

Phormio.

Had another wife

At Lemnos.

Chremes. (*aside.*)

I'm a dead man!

Phormio.

By which other

He had a daughter; whom he now brings up
In private.

Chremes. (*aside.*)

I am dead and buried!

Phormio.

This I'll tell her. (*going towards the house.*)

Chremes.

Don't I beseech you.

Phormio.

O! are you the man?

Demipho.

Death! how insulting!

Chremes to Phormio.

We discharge you.

Phormio.

Nonsense!

Chremes.

What would you more? The money you have got,
We will forgive you.

Phormio.

Well, I hear you now.

If Terence copied as closely from the original, in this comedy, as it is believed he did in the four, which he took from Menander, it will lead us to form no mean opinion of the dramatic talents of Apollodorus. Moliere has written an indifferent travestie of this excellent play, in his farce *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, "The Cheats of Scapin." A comparison cannot fairly be drawn between the two pieces, that of Moliere being so greatly inferior. The two old fathers, Argante and Geronte, are made perfect fools, and Scapin is a far less agreeable parasite than Phormio.

The above six comedies are all that remain to us of the dramatic writings of Terence ; although taken by him from the Greek stage, on which he knew they had been already acted, he has shown taste and judgment in the additions and alterations made on those borrowed subjects. This great writer was a more exact observer of the unities of time and place than his predecessors. The Latin poets before him had commenced the method of combining two stories in one ; and this addition, which we call the double plot, afforded an opportunity for a greater number of incidents, and more variety of action ; Terence, however, usually practised this art. The simplicity and unity of fable in the Greek comedies, were not so well calculated to please a ruder people, like the Romans at this period, less thoroughly acquainted with the genuine beauties of the drama. Next to the management of the plot, the characters and manners represented are the most important points ; and in these Terence was considered superior to all the other comic poets ; his representations are never overstrained. He appears to have been quite aware, that ridicule when carried to an extreme creates creatures of the imagination, and not a likeness of real personages. In this there is a great difference between Plautus and Terence, as between the old and new comedy of the Greeks ; the old presented scenes of uninterrupted gaiety and raillery, nothing was spared that

could become an object of sarcasm and ridicule; but the latter, or the new, by which it was succeeded, endeavoured to attract applause by elegance of style, and the beauty of moral sentiment. The characters of this author, although of the same description as those of Plautus, are all of a higher cast. His slave-dealers, or panders, are rather merchants greedy of gain, than shameless agents of vice; his courtezans, instead of being invariably wicked and rapacious, are frequently represented as not destitute of amiable and beneficent qualities; his braggart captains have neither so much blustering rhodomontade, nor appear so ridiculously contemptible; his parasites are altogether superior to those of Plautus, and his slaves are less coarsely farcical. In short, the shades of character in Plautus are generally strong and broad; in Terence, on the other hand, they are nicely observed, accurately expressed, and never permitted either to overstep nature or probability. In comic humour, as it has been already observed, Terence was by no means equal to his predecessor Plautus; his plays are not calculated to excite much risibility, although his wit and raillery are set off by all the charms of taste and happy expression. For elegance and purity of diction, Terence stands confessedly at the head of all the Latin comic poets who have written for the stage; and it is a very remarkable circumstance, that the language in which he wrote should receive its highest polish, in point of grace and delicacy combined with simplicity, from the hand of an individual who was a foreigner, and commenced his life as a slave. We have seen that he is called by Cæsar,

Puri sermonis amator.

“Lover of purest dialogue.”

Terence was equally admired by his own contemporaries, and the writers in the golden era of Roman literature; and even in the last age of Latin poetry, when his elegant simplicity was so different from the style affected by the authors

of that period, he still continued to be regarded as the model of correct composition.

CHAPTER VII.

DRAMATIC POETRY OF THE ROMANS CONTINUED.

PACUVIUS AND ATTIUS—THE ATELLANE FABLES—EXODIA AND MIMES—THE STRUCTURE OF THE ROMAN THEATRE—STYLE OF ACTING, MASKS, &c.

The early comedy of the Romans was distinguished by more talent than their tragedy. It is not a correct opinion, however, to suppose that the former requires a greater knowledge of human nature than the latter. Comedy is a representation of manners more than of the passions, and paints the ridiculous rather than the serious features of the mind; tragedy represents the storms which sweep through the heart, and to which man in every condition of life is liable. Whilst Plautus, Cæcilius, and Terence raised the comic drama to a high degree of perfection and celebrity, Pacuvius and Attius attempted, with considerable success, the noblest subjects of the ancient Greek tragedies.

Pacuvius flourished 185 B. C.

He was a nephew of Ennius, by a sister of that poet, and born at Brundisium A.U.C. 534. He not only distinguished himself by his poetical talents, but also by his skill in painting, and was one of the first among the Romans who attained any degree of eminence in that elegant art; a picture which he executed for the temple of Hercules, in the Forum Boarium, obtained him much celebrity. Only a few fragments of the tragedies of Pacuvius remain, consequently any opinion formed of them must be taken from the observations of those critics who wrote while his works were extant. He has been commended by Horace and Quintilian for the polish of his versification, and skill in

the dramatic conduct of his scenes. The names of twenty of his tragedies are still preserved to us; they are—Anchises, Antiope, *Armorum Judicium*, Atalanta, Chryses, Duloresses, Hermione, Iliona, Medum, Medea, Niptris, Orestes et Pylades, Paulus, Peribœa, Plinis, Pseudo, Tantalus, Teucer, Thyestes. These plays were imitated or translated by Pacuvius from the Greek, with the exception of his Paulus, which was of his own invention, and the first Latin tragedy on a Roman subject; as there are only four lines of it extant, we cannot ascertain which Roman of that name gave the appellation to it. Regarding the others, the Antiope was one of the most distinguished; it was considered by Cicero as a great national tragedy, and an honour to the Roman name. The Orestes and Pylades was also a very popular tragedy. Pacuvius published his last piece at the age of eighty; oppressed with old age and bodily infirmity, he retired to Tarentum, where he died, in the ninetieth year of his age, 130 B. C. An elegant epitaph, believed to be written by himself, is quoted by Aulus Gellius, who styles it, “*verecundissimum et purissimum*,” inscribed on a tombstone which stood on the side of the public road, according to the custom of the Romans. It was as follows—

Adolescens, tametsi properas, hoc te saxum rogat,
 Uti ad se aspicias; deinde, quod scriptum est, legas.
 Hic sunt poetæ Marcei Pacuviei sita
 Ossa. Hoc volebam nescius ne esses. Vale.

“O youth! though haste should urge thee hence away,
 To read this stone thy steps one moment stay;
 That here Pacuvius’ bones are laid to tell:
 I wish’d that thou might’st know it. Fare thee well.”

Pacuvius was succeeded by

Attius, who flourished 140 B. C.

This dramatic poet, sometimes improperly called Accius, was born A.U.C. 584, and brought forward his first play at

thirty years of age. He began to write tragedies before the death of his predecessor; and Aulus Gellius relates, that when on his way to Asia, he was detained for some time at Tarentum, where Pacuvius had retired, and was invited to pass some days with the veteran poet. During his visit, he redde to his host the tragedy of Atreus, one of his earliest productions; Pacuvius considered his verses to be high sounding and lofty, but thought they were harsh and wanted mellowness. Attius confessed the truth of the opinion, which he observed gave him satisfaction; for that genius resembled apples, which when produced hard and sour grow mellow in maturity, while those unseasonably soft do not become ripe, but rotten; his expectations in this, however, were not fulfilled, as his verses continued harsh to the last. Notwithstanding this defect, a high opinion appears to have been entertained of his writings by the Romans; for such was the respect paid to him, that an actor was severely punished for mentioning his name on the stage. Decius Brutus, who was consul A.U.C. 615, and greatly distinguished for his victories in Spain, received him into the same friendly intimacy to which Ennius was admitted by the elder, and Terence by the younger Scipio Africanus. From the force and eloquence of his tragedies, Attius was asked why he did not plead causes in the forum; his answer was, that he made the characters in his tragedies speak what he chose, but that in the forum his opponents might say things he should not like, and which he might not be able to answer. Agreeably to the remarks of Ovid, it would seem that Attius generally chose enormously criminal subjects for the arguments of his plays. By the advice of Pacuvius he imitated those which had already been brought forward on the Athenian stage; accordingly we find he has dramatized the stories of Andromache, Philoctetes, Antigone, &c., short fragments of which have come down to us. Two of his plays, however, were not translations from the Greek, but formed on Roman subjects, The

Brutus, and *The Decius*. The former, supposed to have been written in compliment to the family of his patron Decius Brutus, was on the expulsion of the Tarquins. The only passage extant is the dream of Tarquin, with its interpretation, viz., that he had been overthrown by a ram which a shepherd had presented to him; and while lying wounded on his back, he looked up to the sky, and observed that the course of the sun was changed from west to east. The first part of the dream is interpreted as a warning that he would be expelled from his kingdom by one whom he accounted as stupid as a sheep (meaning L. Junius Brutus), and that the solar phenomenon portended a popular change in the government. Attius appears, in his tragedies, like his dramatic brethren, to have entertained a contempt for dreams, prodigies, and the science of augury, and to have been like them a free-thinker. The argument of his other drama, also founded on a Roman subject, and belonging to the class called *Prætextatæ*, was on the patriotic self-devotion of Publius Decius, the son; who, when his army could no longer sustain the attack of the enemy, composed of Etruscans and Gauls, threw himself into the thickest of the battle, and fell under the darts of the foe, in the year of Rome 457. Attius died about the eightieth year of his age.

The drama did not establish itself systematically and by degrees, among the Roman people, as was the case in Greece. Plautus wrote for the theatre, in the life-time of Livius Andronicus, and Terence was nearly contemporary with Pacuvius and Attius; so that, every species of this kind of amusement came together, and was adopted at the theatre, good, bad, and indifferent; and that which was most absurd frequently had the highest degree of admiration bestowed on it. The Greek drama, owed its splendid state of perfection to a close imitation of nature; but when the Romans became acquainted with the writings of the Greeks, they had not even sown the seeds of learning; consequently

they were satisfied with the ripened produce imported from abroad, and they neither did nor could attain such perfection ; for however exquisite their models, they did not copy from nature itself, but only from the representation and image. Other causes may justly be assigned for the want of originality in the whole of the Roman drama. The nation was sadly deficient in that milder humanity, and softness of feeling, of which there are so many beautiful instances in Grecian history. Instead of melting with tenderness at the woes of Andromache, the people were more gratified by what we call the spectacle, introduced with such ostentation as to destroy all the grace of the performances. A thousand mules pranced upon the stage in the tragedy of Clytemnestra, and in the Trojan Horse whole regiments were marshalled, accoutred in foreign armour. From the austere patriotism of Brutus, sacrificing every feeling, even those of a father, to the love of country, or from personal hatred to the Tarquins, in revenge for the murder of his father by Tarquin the proud, or from pride, or personal aggrandizement ; from the frugality of Cincinnatus, and the parsimony of the Censor, Rome, with frightful rapidity, fell into a state of luxury and corruption without example. The great revolutions which occurred among the Roman people, were occasioned not by any forethought or predetermination, but by events acting suddenly and strongly on their feelings. The distressing circumstances attending the hard fate of Lucretia, Virginia, and the youth Publius, drove their kings from the throne, upset the decemvirs, and delivered the poorer citizens from the griping avarice and oppression of patrician creditors. Even during the short period called the age of refinement, Rome did not possess a poetical public ; the taste of the populace, originally harsh, coarse, and lumpish, only changed to take a barbarous pleasure in wanton displays of human violence, and brutal cruelty. Lions, and other wild beasts, tore each other to pieces before their eyes ; and they beheld

with emotions of delight, crowds of gladiators sacrificing their valour and life, on the blood-stained arena of a circus. Indeed the most certain method adopted by their rulers of obtaining the public favour, was through the exhibition of these spectacles on the most expensive scale of variety and splendour. It was impossible, therefore, that a people taking delight in such brutal amusements, could possess that exquisite sympathy for suffering, without which none can perceive the force and beauty of a tragic drama.

There were several divisions of the regular Roman drama, besides that of tragedy and comedy. Thus a tragedy on a Greek subject, and in which Greek manners were preserved as the *Hecuba*, &c. was styled *Tragœdia*, or sometimes *Tragœdia Palliata*. Those in which Roman characters were introduced, as the *Brutus* and *Decius* of Attius, were called *Prætextatæ*, because the *Prætexta* was the habit worn by the Roman kings and consuls. The comedy which adopted Greek subjects and manners, was termed *Comœdia*, or *Comœdia Palliata*, and that which had Roman dresses and customs, was called *Togata*. The *Tabernaira*, so named from *Taberna*, as its scene was commonly laid in shops or taverns, was a comedy of a lower order than the *Togata*; and represented the manners likely to be found among the dregs of the plebeians.

*The Atellane Fables.*¹—These formed a species of irregular drama peculiar to the Romans themselves, and for which they were not indebted to the Greeks. After Livius Andronicus had established a regular theatre at Rome, formed on the Greek model, and supported by professional writers and actors; the free youth were still desirous amid their foreign refinements to keep alive the recollection of

¹ They were so called from Atella, a town of the Oscans now St. Arpino, about two miles south from Aversa, between Capua and Naples.

the old popular pastimes of their Italian ancestry; they continued therefore to amuse themselves with the satiric pieces, originally introduced by the Histrions of Etruria, and with the Atellane Fables, which Oscan performers had first made known at Rome. The actors of the regular drama were not permitted to appear in such representations, and the young Romans to whom the privilege was reserved, could not be called on to unmask in the presence of the spectators, nor did any disgrace attend in this instance their adopting the part of actors; indeed it appears to have been a rude sort of amateur performance. These Fables consisted of detached scenes, without much dramatic connection, but full of jocular witticisms and buffoonery. At first they were written in the Oscan dialect, and one of their standing characters was called Maccus, a grotesque personage, with an immense head, long nose, and hump back, who corresponded in some measure to the clown of modern pantomime. Pappus seems to have been another character introduced with Maccus, and answering to our Pantaloon. In its original form, this species of entertainment was very popular, and in constant use at Rome. It does not appear that the Atellane Fables were at first either written out, or that the actors had certain parts prescribed to them; it is supposed that the subject was agreed on, and the performers filled up the scenes from their own invention. As the Roman language improved, the Oscan dialect was gradually abandoned. A celebrated writer of Atellane Fables, Quintus Novius, who lived in the beginning of the seventh century from the foundation of Rome, chiefly contributed to this innovation. He is mentioned as the author of the *Virgo Prægnans*, *Dotata*, *Gallinaria*, *Gemini*, and others. In the time of Sylla these Fables were written by Lucius Pomponius entirely in the Latin language; as he refined their ancient buffoonery, and gave them a more rational cast, he is styled by Velleius Paterculus the inventor of this species of drama. The names of sixty-three of his

pieces have been cited by grammarians, a few fragments only have come down to us. Pomponius was imitated by Mummius, and also by Sylla himself. In the new form, they continued to enjoy a large share of the public favour, till the Mimes of Laberius and Publius Syrus, in a great measure superseded them.

The Exodia. — Besides the Atellane Fables, the Roman youth were in the habit of acting short pieces, called Exodia, which were interludes, or after-pieces of a still more loose and detached description than the Atellanes. It is doubtful however, whether the Exodia were performed at the end of the principal piece, like our farces, being the issue of the entertainment; or whether they were a sort of interlude, and had not as a matter of necessity any connection with the principal representation. Joseph Scaliger takes a view in accordance with the first idea; but the elder Scaliger and Salmasius adopt the second. The Exodia continued to be performed in the reigns of Tiberius and Nero; and so great was the license indulged in them, that they often contained jocular and direct allusions to the crimes and cruelties of these dreaded Emperors.

The Mimes. — In the long period from the times of Plautus, Terence, Pacuvius, and Attius, till the Augustan age, there appeared no successor, possessing merit as an author of the regular drama. That the plays of these writers still continued to be occasionally represented, is evident, from the vast wealth acquired in the time of Cicero by Æsopus and Roscius. The fund of entertainment thus withheld was supplied by the Mimes, which now became fashionable in Rome. There was a close resemblance between the Mimes and the Atellane Fables; the characters in the last-mentioned were chiefly provincial, while the former exhibited a likeness of the lowest class of citizens at Rome. Antic gestures were also more employed in the Mimes than in the other, and they were more indelicate and ludicrous. The

Mimes were represented by actors who sometimes wore masks, but more frequently stained their faces, like our clowns and mountebanks. The performers often gave full scope not only to natural unpremeditated gaiety, they abandoned themselves to every sort of extravagant and indecorous action. The Sanio or Zany, appears to have been common to the Mimes and the Atellane Fables. He excited laughter by lolling out his tongue, and making asses' ears on his head with his fingers. There was likewise the Panniculus in a party coloured dress, feigning stupidity, and allowing blows to be inflicted on him without cause. Women also performed in these dramas, and were often the mistresses of the wealthy. The Mimes were in a great measure filled up with the tricks which wives played on their husbands, and a representation of the lowest follies of the vulgar. They were originally represented as a sort of afterpiece, or interlude, to the regular dramas, and were intended to fill up the blank left by the omission of the chorus, although they subsequently formed a separate and popular public amusement, which in some measure superseded all other dramatic entertainments. Sylla was so attached to the Mimes, that he bestowed on the actors of them many acres of the public lands. It appears singular, that the most grave and dignified nation should have been so partial to an exhibition of licentious buffoonery on the stage. The reason may be, that when people have a mind to amuse themselves, they choose what is most at variance from their usual temper and habits. The frequent repetition of the Mimes led gradually to their purification; they assumed a higher cast of character; and while availing themselves of the unlimited indulgence permitted by these ludicrous farces, many striking truths and beautiful maxims were introduced. Such appears from the Mimes of Decimus Laberius, and Publius Syrus, who flourished during the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar. The four great branches of the Roman drama were formed by the regular tragedy and comedy, the Atellane Fables, and the Mimes.

The structure of the Roman theatre.—Those stages originally erected in very early periods of the Roman Republic for the exhibitions of histrions and dancers, were set up after the fashion of Etruria in places constructed of boughs of trees, in tents or booths, not much superior in dignity or accommodation to the cart of Thespis. It was from the Greeks, however, that the Romans derived their model of a regular theatre; and the first building of that description was constructed for Livius Andronicus on the Aventine Hill; this however was only a temporary one. In the year of the city 574, M. Æmilius Lepidus had a theatre constructed adjacent to the temple of Apollo; it was also one of those occasional buildings removed after a series of dramatic entertainments. A short time before the beginning of the third Punic war, a play-house, which the censors were fitting up with seats, was thrown down by a decree of the senate, as injurious to public morals, this obliged the people to view the performances standing. At length, M. Æmilius Scaurus built a theatre, said to be capable of containing 80,000 spectators, and provided with every convenience; it was adorned with great magnificence, statuary, cloth of gold, and marble, at an almost incredible expense. Curio, his rival, being unable to exceed such costly decorations, distinguished himself by a new invention, which he brought forward at the funeral entertainments given by him in honour of his father's memory. He erected two large edifices of wood adjacent to each other, and so contrived on hinges that the buildings could be united at their centre, or separated in such a manner as to form a theatre, or amphitheatre, according to the nature of the exhibition. In both of these edifices he caused stage-plays to be acted in the early part of the day, the semicircles being placed back to back, so that the declamation, music, and applause of the one did not interrupt the other; then, having wheeled them round in the afternoon, and completed the circle, they formed an amphitheatre, where he exhibited combats of gladiators.

These theatres, though they surpassed in extent and sumptuousness the former structures of wood, yet being built of that material, and only destined for representations during certain games or festivals, were taken down when these were concluded. The costly materials of the theatre of Scaurus were removed to his private villa, where they were burned, as it is stated,¹ by his servants, in a transport of indignation at the insane extravagance of their master.

The first individual who erected a permanent theatre of stone was Pompey. It was situated in the field of Flora, near the temple of Venus Victrix, and built after the plan of a playhouse at Mitylene, and held just one half of the number of spectators which could be accommodated in the theatre of Scaurus. It was finished during Pompey's second consulship, A.U.C. 689, and its construction was quickly followed by that of other similar edifices. The Roman theatres built towards the close of the republic and commencement of the empire, followed in general the model of the Greek, both in their external plan and interior arrangement. They were oblong semicircular buildings, forming the half of an amphitheatre; rounded at one end, and terminating on the other in a long straight line. The interior was divided into three parts, the place for the spectators, the orchestra, and the stage. The Greeks, however, had a large orchestra, and a limited stage; the Romans, a confined orchestra, and an extensive stage. During the consulship of the elder Scipio Africanus, A.U.C. 559, he carried a law by which a separate place, part of the orchestra, was assigned to the senators. Scipio lost much of his popularity by this aristocratic innovation, and is said to have bitterly repented afterwards his being the cause of it.² The knights and plebeians continued to sit promiscuously

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* book xxxvi. c. 15.

² This was one of the chief causes which led him into banishment.

for more than an hundred years longer ; in 685, however, a regulation of the tribune, Roscius Otho, allotted to the knights, tribunes, and persons of a certain census, fourteen rows of circular benches immediately behind the orchestra. This was a still more unpopular measure than the former, and led to Otho being hissed by the people as he entered the theatre, even while Roscius was acting one of his principal parts ; and it was only by the eloquence of Cicero the anger of the people could be appeased, and that they were reconciled to the tribune. Henceforth the senators held possession of part of the orchestra, and the knights, with the higher classes, retained the fourteen rows of seats immediately surrounding it. The former sat on straight benches, placed at equal distances, and not fixed ; the other benches, assigned to the knights and people, were semicircularly disposed around the circumference of the theatre, and carried one above another sloping, till they reached the most remote part, and ascended nearly to the top of the theatre. Over the highest tier of seats a portico was constructed, the roof of which ranged with the loftiest part of the scene, in order that the voice expanding uniformly, might be carried to the uppermost seats and top of the building. The number of stairs varied ; Pompey's theatre had fifteen, that of Marcellus only seven ; as luxury increased at Rome, they were bedewed with streams of fragrant water for coolness and refreshment. At the top of each flight of steps were doors communicating directly with the staircases, to allow egress. In the ancient Roman theatres, built of wood, the body of the structure, or place where the spectators sat, was open at top to receive the light ; or rather, it had no covering. The luxury of canvas drawn partially or completely over the theatre at pleasure, was introduced by Quintus Catulus, in the time of Marius. These curtains were at first of the plainest materials, and merely used as a screen from the sun, or protection from the rain ; but in process of time, silken hangings of rich texture and

splendid hues waved from the roof, casting their gorgeous tints on the proscenium and spectators.

That part of the orchestra not allotted for the seats of the senators, was occupied by the musicians; whose office it was, in the performance both of tragedies and comedies, to give to the actors and audience the tone of feeling which the dramatic parts demanded, and in the former the music invariably accompanied the chorus. The chief musical instruments were right and left-handed flutes, the lyre, the harp, and in later times a hydraulic organ was introduced, which, according to Optatianus, emitted a sound produced from air, created by the concussion of water. The front area of the stage was a little elevated above that part of the orchestra where the musicians were placed, and was called the proscenium, on which a wooden platform, termed the *pulpitum*, was raised to the height of five feet. This the actors ascended to perform their characters, and here all the dramatic representations of the Romans were exhibited, except the *Mimes*, which were acted on the lower floor of the proscenium: architectural proportions were assigned to these different parts. The space behind the *pulpitum* was called the *scena*, because the scenery appropriate to the piece was there exhibited. According to Vitruvius, there were three varieties of scenes; in tragedy, columns, statues, and other embellishments suitable to palaces were introduced; in comedy, the houses of individuals, with their balconies and windows arranged in imitation of private dwellings; when *Mimes* or *Exodia* were performed, groves, dens, mountains, and other rural objects were delineated. The adherence to unity of place rendered unnecessary that frequent shifting of scenes required in our dramas. When the side scenes were changed, the painted boards were turned by machinery, and the scene was called *versatilis*, or revolving; when it was withdrawn altogether, and another substituted, it was named *ductilis*, or sliding.

There were also trap-doors in this part of the theatre, by which ghosts and furies ascended when their presence was required; and machines were disposed above the scena, and at its sides, for the purpose of bringing gods, and other superior beings, suddenly upon the stage. At the bottom of the scena, most distant from the audience, there was a curtain of painted canvas. During the existence of the republic, it is asserted, that it was dropped when the play began, continued down during the performance, and drawn up on the conclusion of the representation. In the time of the emperors, it is believed, that an alteration took place; the curtain being brought forward on the scena, and as with us, raised at the commencement, and let fall at the end of the piece. At each side of the scena there were doors called *hospitalia*, by which the actors entered and retired.

There were two descriptions of actors on the Roman stage, those who gesticulated, and those who declaimed. That one actor should have recited, and another performed the corresponding gestures, certainly appears to us a very inexplicable circumstance in the Roman drama. The practice, nevertheless, began so early as the time of Livius Andronicus, who being encored in his monologues, introduced a slave who declaimed to the sound of the flute, while he himself executed the corresponding gesticulations. We can only account for such a system in the recollection, that the Roman theatres were vastly larger and worse lighted than ours, that the mask worn by the actors prevented even the nearest spectator from perceiving the least motion of the lips, and thus only heard the words, without knowing whether they proceeded from him who recited, or gesticulated; and these actors were so trained, that they perfectly agreed in their respective parts. Cicero tells us, that a comedian who made a movement out of time, was as much hissed as one who mistook the pronunciation of a word, or quantity of a syllable in a verse; and Seneca adds,

that it is surprising to see the attitudes of eminent comedians on the stage overtake and keep pace with speech, notwithstanding the velocity of the tongue. The art of dramatic gesticulation was considered of so much importance as to be taught in schools, and was divided into three different kinds; the first, called the Emmelia, was adapted to tragic declamation; the second, Cordax, was fitted for comedy; and the third, Sicinnis, was proper to the Exodia and Mimes.

At the commencement of the Roman drama, in the time of Livius Andronicus, the actors wore caps, and their faces were daubed with the lees of wine, as at the beginning of the dramatic art in Greece. The increased dimensions of the theatres, and consequent distance of the spectators, obliged the Romans to borrow from art the expression of those passions which could not any longer be distinguished on the natural countenance of the performer. Most of their masks covered not only the face, but the greater part of the head, the beard and hair being delineated as well as the features; some of them had false hair, and came over the head like a helmet. They were made of chalk, pipe-clay, or terra cotta, so transparent and artfully prepared, that the play of the muscles could be seen under them. Cicero states, that in parts of pathos or indignation, the actor's eyes were often observed to sparkle through the mask. It appears, that most of them represented features enlarged beyond the natural proportions, and somewhat distorted. A wide and gaping mouth is a principal characteristic, incrusted with metal, so as to have partly the effect of a speaking trumpet, and render the articulation more distinct and sonorous. It is believed that the dancers and pantomimic actors, as they did not speak, had masks exactly resembling the natural countenance. The various characters who appeared on the Roman stage were distinguished by appropriate masks, a particular physi-

ognomy being considered essential to each. In tragedies Niobe appeared with a sorrowful countenance, Medea had a fierce expression, stern courage was painted on the mask of Hercules, while that of Ajax proclaimed phrensy. The father, lover, parasite, pander, courtezan, old woman, soldier, peasant, and slave were distinguished by their appropriate masks.¹ The matron, virgin, and courtezan were also distinguished from each other by the manner in which their hair was arranged and braided. The mask of the parasite had brown and curled hair; that of the braggart captain, black hair, with a swarthy complexion. The severe father's countenance was distinguished from the indulgent one, and that of the sober young man from the rake. The dresses were also suitable to each character. The youth was clothed in purple, the parasite in black, the pander in parti-coloured garments, the courtezan in flowing yellow robes, and slaves in white. Dramatic representations among the ancients, took place in the day time. Large and splendid as their theatres unquestionably were, and gorgeously magnificent as the style appears to have been in which many of their plays were exhibited, nevertheless their arrangements and system were greatly inferior to those of the moderns in elegance, propriety, and convenience.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PROGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY AMONG THE ROMANS.
ITS INTRODUCTION AT ROME, BY CARNEADES, DIOGENES, AND
CRITOLAUS—FOLLOWERS OF THE DIFFERENT SECTS.

We have seen from causes already mentioned,² that the Roman people in the earlier periods of the Republic

¹ Julius Pollux in his *Onomasticon*, written in the reign of the Emperor Commodus, has given a description of the mask appropriate to every dramatic character, with an account of the dress used on the stage by each.

² See page 113.

had little leisure to bestow either upon literature, or the sciences; indeed they discovered no great inclination to cultivate any other kind of knowledge, beyond that which was necessary for the ordinary purposes of life, and for their military operations, consequently they had no idea of philosophical speculations. It has been asserted that the Romans were practical philosophers from necessity, and that they were a nation of sages before they heard the word wisdom pronounced. Be this as it may, the rise of philosophy as a science among them is to be dated from the arrival of an embassy at Rome, to deprecate a fine of five hundred talents, inflicted upon the Athenian people for laying waste Oropii, a town of Sicyonia; and which brought thither Carneades of the new academy, Diogenes the stoic, and Critolaus the peripatetic, about the close of the sixth century from the building of Rome. The effect of the display, which these philosophical missionaries made of their wisdom and eloquence, was to excite in the Roman youth an ardent thirst for knowledge. Lælius, Furius, and Scipio, young men of the first distinction, discovered an anxious desire to enlist under the banners of philosophy; but Cato, the censor, who possessed oracular authority among his countrymen, disapproved of this sudden innovation, and the philosophers were sternly dismissed. Not that Cato himself was illiterate, for he wrote a celebrated treatise on agriculture; he was apprehensive, however, that the introduction of philosophical studies into Rome would render its young men effeminate, and injure those hardy virtues which had laid the foundation of their national glory. From this visit of the Grecian philosophers, arose a spirit of inquiry which the caution and influence of Cato could not suppress. The struggle between philosophy and the dread of innovation was indeed for some time maintained, for we find, that in the consulship of Strabo and Valerius, a decree of the senate passed, probably in consequence of repeated visits from the philosophers of Greece, requiring the prætor

Pomponius to take care that none of them were allowed to reside in Rome; and some years afterwards, as if resolved to close the door upon philosophy, and also against eloquence, the censor issued another edict regarding rhetoricians to the following effect: "We have been informed that certain men, who call themselves rhetoricians, have instituted a new kind of learning, and opened schools, in which young men trifle away their time day after day; we judging this innovation to be inconsistent with the purpose for which our ancestors established schools, contrary to ancient custom, and injurious to our youth, do warn both those who keep these schools, and those who frequent them, that they are herein acting contrary to our pleasure." This edict was afterwards revived in the year of Rome 662 by the consuls Pulcher and Perpenna. At length philosophy, under the protection of those great commanders who had conquered Greece, triumphed, and every school came to have its followers in the capital of the world. It has been already mentioned that three Grecian philosophers were sent on an embassy from Athens to Rome in the 156th Olympiad, and these persons,

*Carneades, Diogenes, and Critolaus, introduced philosophy
at Rome 155 B. C.*

Carneades, the founder of the new academy, from the school of Plato, was an African, and a native of Cyrene. He was born about the third year of the 141st Olympiad, 214 B. C., and received his first knowledge in the art of reasoning from Diogenes, the stoic philosopher. Afterwards becoming a member of the old academy, he attended the lectures of Egesinus, and by assiduous study became an eminent master in argument; he succeeded Egesinus in the chair, and restored the declining reputation of the academy, seriously affected by the tenets of Arcesilaus, who in his opposition to the stoic and other dogmatical sects, carried his doctrine of uncertainty in all things to

such an extent, as to alarm not only the general body of philosophers, but even the governors of the state. The three philosophers during their embassy exhibited to the Roman people many specimens of Grecian learning and eloquence, with which till then they had been unacquainted. Carneades excelled in the rapid and vehement, Diogenes in the simple and modest, and Critolaus in the correct and elegant style of eloquence. Carneades particularly attracted the attention and admiration of his new auditors by the subtlety of his reasoning, and the fluency of his language. He obtained such high reputation in his own school, that other philosophers, when they had concluded their lectures, came to hear him. As he grew old, he discovered apprehensions of dying, and frequently lamented, that the same nature which had composed the human frame could dissolve it. He expired in the eighty-fifth, or according to Cicero and Valerius Maximus, in the ninetieth year of his age.

The doctrines of the new academy were, that the senses, the understanding, and imagination frequently deceive us, consequently cannot be infallible judges of truth; although from the impressions produced on the mind, by means of the senses, we infer appearances of truth, or probabilities. These impressions Carneades called phantasies, or images; he maintained that they do not always correspond to the real nature of things, and that there is no infallible method of determining when they are true, or false, and therefore that they afford no real criterion of truth. Nevertheless, in regard to the conduct of life, and the pursuit of happiness, Carneades held, that probable appearances are a sufficient guide, because it is unreasonable not to allow some degree of credit to those witnesses who commonly give a true report. Probabilities he divided into three classes, simple, uncontradicted, and confirmed by accurate examination; the lowest degree of probability taking place where the mind, in the casual occurrence of any single image, per-

ceives in it nothing contrary to truth and nature; the second degree of probability arising, when contemplating any object in connection with all the circumstances associated with it, we discover no appearance of inconsistency, to lead us to suspect that our senses have given a false report; as when we conclude, from comparing the image of any individual man with our remembrance of that man, that he is the person we believed him to be; the highest degree of probability being produced when, after an accurate examination of every circumstance which might be supposed to create uncertainty, we are able to discover no fallacy in the report of our senses. The judgments arising from this operation of the mind are, according to him, not science, but opinion, which, as he considered, is all the knowledge that the human mind is capable of possessing.

Regarding truth, the doctrine of Carneades serves to show in what light we are to understand an assertion advanced respecting this philosopher, and his sect; namely, that they would not allow it to be certain, that things which are equal or similar to the same thing, are equal or similar to one another. It is not probable, however, that they denied this axiom as an abstract truth; they merely maintained, that in its application to any particular case some uncertainty must arise, from our imperfect knowledge of the things which are brought into comparison, so that it is impossible to prove the absolute equality of any two things to a third, or to one another. The principal point of difference between Arcesilaus of the middle academy, and Carneades the founder of the new, was, that the latter taught the doctrine of uncertainty in much less exceptionable terms than the former. Arcesilaus, in his ambition to overturn other sects, gave his opponents some pretence for charging him with having undermined the foundation of morals; Carneades, by leaving the human understanding in possession of probability, afforded scope for the use of

practical principles of conduct. Arcesilaus employed himself in opposing the doctrines of other philosophers in logic and physics, paying little attention to ethics; Carneades, while he taught the necessity of caution in speculative researches, prescribed rules for the direction of life and manners. The latter also strenuously opposed the doctrine of the stoics respecting the gods; this he did, according to Cicero, not with a view to destroy the belief of superior powers, but simply to prove that the theological system of the stoical school was unsatisfactory. He likewise disagreed with their doctrines concerning fate, as he assumed, on the ground of experience, the existence of a self-determining power in man; hence inferring, that all things did not happen, as the stoics maintained, in a necessary series of causes and effects; consequently, that it is impossible for the gods to predict events dependent on the will of man. As the foundation of morals, he taught that the proper object of life is, the enjoyment of those things towards which we are directed by the principles of nature. Although such is the general information which the ancients have left us regarding the doctrines of Carneades, there is considerable mystery attached to his real opinions, which are not known with certainty.

Diogenes the Stoic, a native of Seleucia, called also the Babylonian, from the vicinity of Babylon to the place of his birth, filled the chair of that sect with great honour to himself, and benefit to his pupils. He applied so diligently to the study and propagation of the stoic doctrines, that Cicero calls him a great and respectable philosopher. Seneca relates, that as he was one day discoursing upon anger, a foolish youth, in hopes of raising a laugh by making him angry, spit in his face; upon which Diogenes mildly and prudently remarked, "I am not angry, but I am in doubt whether I ought not to be so." After a life of exemplary virtue, he died in the eighty-eighth year of his age. Dio-

genes was succeeded by Antipater of Tarsus, mentioned also by Cicero and Seneca as an able supporter of the stoic sect, and of whom Carneades was the chief opponent.

Critolaus, the Peripatetic.—He was a native of Lydia; and accompanied Carneades and Diogenes in the embassy to Rome; he also filled the chair of his school of philosophy with honour. It is stated, that he held the doctrine of the eternity of the universe. He died at eighty-five years of age. With his successor, Diodorus, the uninterrupted succession of the Peripatetic, or Aristotelian school of philosophy terminated.

After the doctrines of Grecian philosophy had become known at Rome, Scipio Africanus was one of the first among the Roman youths of patrician rank, who, in the midst of military glory, found leisure to listen to the precepts of that science. Whatever time he could spare from military operations, he devoted to study, becoming intimately conversant with the best Greek writers, particularly Xenophon, whilst his companions were Polybius, Panætius, and other men of letters. Panætius was well qualified to assist his illustrious pupil in acquiring a general knowledge of philosophy, for although himself a stoic, he held the writings of Plato in high estimation, and was thoroughly acquainted with the systems of other philosophers. C. Lælius and L. Furius were also great admirers of Grecian learning. The former, in his youth, having attended the lectures of Diogenes the stoic, and afterwards those of Panætius. It is worthy of admiration in these great men, that they neither joined the band of philosophers, nor suffered themselves to become tinctured with the extravagances of stoicism, but sought after

¹ The principal doctrines of the various schools of philosophy are described in the first volume of this work. See Philosophy.

glory and renown in the offices of civil or military life, making use of the lessons of philosophy in acquiring exalted merit; or, as Cicero tells us, "By the happy union of natural dispositions the most excellent, and noble habits formed by diligent cultivation, these three illustrious individuals attained a degree of perfection scarcely to be equalled, in moderation, sobriety, and every other virtue."

With such brilliant examples before them, many other persons of eminence in Rome attached themselves to the study of philosophy, among whom was Quintus Tuberо, a nephew of Scipio Africanus. The individual, however, to whose patronage this science stood most indebted was Lucullus, the conqueror of Mithridates. During his successful campaigns in Asia and in Macedonia, he had numerous opportunities of conversing with the most renowned philosophers of Greece and Asia. Upon his return to Rome, disgusted at the coldness with which he was received, Lucullus retired from public life, and gave himself up to study. He possessed a magnificent library, containing the works of all poets and historians then known, together with the doctrines of the various philosophic sects; this he generously threw open to learned men, and all who were desirous of acquiring knowledge. Another valuable present was, the writings of Aristotle, introduced into Rome by Sylla; which afforded every opportunity for selecting and comparing the information from the different sources opened by the speculative imagination of the Greeks.

The philosophy of Greece, thus transplanted, flourished with vigour in its new soil. Learning now made rapid progress, partly through the instructions of those Grecian philosophers who resided at Rome; and partly by means of a practice at this time commenced, of sending the young nobility to study in the ancient schools of wisdom, until almost every sect of philosophy found followers and patrons among the higher orders. The term philosopher, however,

is to be understood in a different sense when applied to those who speculated at Rome, to that in which it has hitherto been used as applicable to the Greeks, among whom we have seen, that a philosopher was one who professionally employed his time in studying and teaching philosophy; but among the Romans there were very few who followed it as a profession. The illustrious individuals who are mentioned under this denomination were generally men of high rank, invested with civil or military offices, and occupied in public affairs. They studied philosophy as they cultivated other liberal arts, as a means of obtaining knowledge and improving their abilities, of securing distinction in their official capacities, or as an elegant amusement in their intervals of leisure, and not with any idea or prospect of pecuniary emolument; thus leaving an everlasting example to all future aristocracies of the transcendent merit which education and knowledge can confer upon birth and wealth. It is sometimes asserted, that ancient literature and history are too much studied; and what is there to be placed in competition with them? Are we to study the accounts of savages and barbarians? No. The names and actions of the glorious sages of Greece and Rome are the lamps which illumine the dark and melancholy mass of ignorance, degradation, and misery which has heretofore composed the history of the vast bulk of the human race. It is natural, it is wise, and it is right that the uncontaminated minds of intelligent youth should be led to dwell on examples which carry the capabilities of mankind, in virtue and talent, to so high a pitch of excellence.

Notwithstanding the proud spirit of the Roman people, it was creditable to their good sense, that they chose rather to pay homage to a conquered nation by adopting their discoveries, than to attempt the formation from their own stores of a new system of philosophy. It was not so much that they wanted ability for such an undertaking, but that

they wanted leisure. They were desirous to enjoy the reputation and benefit of wisdom, and therefore studied philosophy under the masters which fortune threw in their way, or their particular profession and turn of mind induced them to prefer; and here the prudence of the Romans was particularly distinguished. The Stoic philosophy, on account of the utility of its moral doctrine, was adopted by the magistrates and heads of the legal profession; the Pythagorean and Platonic systems, suited to the sober and contemplative, were received by them; and the Epicurean, in later days, proved welcome to those inclined to prefer ease and enjoyment to public virtue. As every person found in the doctrines of some one or other of the Grecian sects, tenets which suited his own disposition and situation, no one attempted further discoveries in philosophy. The Romans also looked up to the schools of Greece with a degree of respect which would not allow them to undertake anything new, in a path where so many eminent men had exerted their talents; despairing of doing more than had already been performed by the great founders of the several sects, they considered it sufficient to make choice of some one of these as their guide. In this manner Greece, which had submitted to the arms of the Romans, in her turn subdued the understandings of that people; and contrary to what usually occurs in such cases, the opinions and manners of the conquered were adopted by the conquerors.

The Pythagorean, or ancient Italian school, does not appear to have been popular, or to have made much way beyond Magna Græcia, for several centuries. With the exception of the dramatic and satiric poet Ennius, who adopted the doctrine of Metempsychosis, and seemed to believe that the soul of Homer had passed after several migrations into his own body, a very flattering supposition, there were no followers of this sect in Rome, before the seventh century from the building of the city. Publius

Nigidius, surnamed Figulus, a contemporary and friend of Cicero, was a professed advocate for the doctrines of Pythagoras. Cicero speaks of him as an accurate and penetrating observer into nature, and ascribes to him the revival of that philosophy. He was considered a proficient in mathematical and astronomical learning, and held frequent disputations with Cicero, and his friends, on philosophical questions. He attached himself to the party of Pompey, and on Cæsar's accession to the supreme power, Figulus was banished from Rome, and after his time the Pythagorean doctrines were neglected.

The Old Academy.—The philosophy of this school, as revived and corrected by Antiochus,¹ found many advocates at Rome, among whom were Lucullus and Marcus Brutus, the latter so celebrated for the assassination of his patron Julius Cæsar. Brutus wrote treatises on virtue, patience, and the offices of life, concise and abrupt in style, containing a summary of others, framed partly on the doctrines of Plato, and partly on those of the stoic school; for after his master Antiochus, he was inclined to favour the union of these two sects. Another follower of the Old Academy, was Terentius Varro, born at Rome in the 638th year of the city. Cicero, in a letter in which he recommends him as quæstor to Brutus, assures the latter, that he would find him perfectly qualified for the appointment, and particularly insists upon his good sense, indifference to pleasure, and patient perseverance in business. To these qualifications, Varro added great abilities and much knowledge, which qualified him for the highest offices of the state. He attached himself to Pompey; and in the time of the triumvirate was proscribed with Cicero, and though he escaped with life, he suffered the loss of his writings; returning at length to Rome, he passed his last years in literary leisure. To these M. Piso may be added, whom Cicero mentions as advocating

¹ Antiochus of Ascalon. He was preceptor to Cicero and Brutus.

at large the opinions of the Old Academy regarding moral purposes; not, however, without a mixture of the Peripatetic doctrines, which he had learned from Staseas, a teacher of them at Athens.

The New Academy,¹—founded upon a conviction of the weakness of human reason, without rushing with Pyrrhonism into the absurdity of an entire suspension of opinion, became a favourite sect among the Romans. It was particularly suited to the profession of a public pleader, as it left the field of disputation free, and would inure him to the practice of collecting arguments from all quarters on opposite sides of every doubtful question; hence it was that Cicero, by the advice of Philo, addicted himself to this sect, and persuaded others to follow his example. This great orator, who eclipsed all his contemporaries in eloquence, and whose character will be described in a subsequent chapter as an orator, has also acquired no small share of reputation as a philosopher. Although Cicero attached himself to the New Academy, he did not neglect to become acquainted with the doctrines of the other systems; and he discovered much learning and ingenuity in refuting some of their dogmas. He was an admirer of the doctrines of the stoics on natural equity and civil law, and adopted their ideas concerning moral laws. That he also held the writings of Plato in esteem, especially for his philosophy of nature, is evident from his own words, and the labour he bestowed upon *Timæus*. As he considered the Peripatetic philosophy to differ but little on the subject of ethics from the Socratic and Platonic systems, he paid it some respect in his moral writings, although in other places it fell under his censure. There is no doubt

¹ The Old Academy was the school of Plato; the Middle was founded by Arcesilaus, previously mentioned, who carried the uncertainty of all things to a vicious extreme; the New Academy rose under Carneades, who reformed and moderated this error.

that Cicero belonged to that class of the Academics, the new, who, after Carneades, while they confessed the weakness of the human understanding, admitted opinions on the ground of probability. "I do not," says he, "rank myself among those who suffer their minds to wander in error, without any guide to direct their course. For of what use is the human intellect, or rather, of what value is human life, if all the principles, not only of reasoning, but of action, be taken away? If I cannot, with many philosophers, say, that some things are certain, and others uncertain; I willingly allow, that some things are probable, others improbable." It is not difficult to perceive, from the philosophical writings of Cicero, that he was more in the habit of declaiming eloquently, than of reasoning conclusively; we seldom find him endeavouring diligently to examine the weight of evidence in the scale of reason, carefully deducing accurate conclusions from certain principles, or exhibiting a series of arguments in a close and systematic arrangement. He was evidently better qualified to dispute on either side with the academics, than to decide upon the question with the dogmatics. The correct position to consider Cicero, appears to be rather in the light of a sincere admirer and elegant memorialist of philosophy, than as meriting a place in the highest rank of philosophers; he stands with more correctness, as the first orator and pleader of his age.

The Stoic sect was also much patronised by many eminent men in the Roman republic. The most distinguished lawyers were favourable to this school, on account of the fitness of its moral doctrine to the purposes of civil policy. Q. Lucilius Balbus was an eminent master of the stoic philosophy, and many able and zealous supporters of the republic in its declining and tottering state belonged to this class. The individual, however, who above all the rest claims our attention, being a stoic in character as well as in opinion, is Cato, surnamed of

Utica, from the last memorable scene of his life. He was a descendant of Cato the Censor, who, as we have seen, opposed the first admission of philosophy into Rome. In early life, Cato was elected to the office of a Flamen of Apollo; and made choice of Antipater, a Tyrian of the stoic sect, as his preceptor in morals and jurisprudence, that in his priestly character he might exhibit an example of rigid virtue. He inured himself to endure without injury the extremes of heat and cold. To express his dislike for effeminate and luxurious manners, he declined to wear the purple robe which belonged to his rank, and often appeared in public without his tunic, and with his feet uncovered, wishing to teach his fellow-citizens, that a wise man ought not to be ashamed of anything which is not in itself disgraceful. He also carried his virtues into military life, and set an example to his fellow-commanders of moderation, sobriety, and magnanimity. During his residence in Greece, Cato having heard of an eminent stoic, Athenodorus Cordyliones, who had rejected the proffered friendship of several princes, and was passing his old age in retirement at Pergamus, resolved if possible to make him his friend, and as he had little hope of doing so by message, undertook for this purpose a voyage into Asia. Upon the interview, Athenodorus found in Cato a mind so congenial to his own, that he was without difficulty prevailed on to accompany him into Greece; and after the term of Cato's military service had expired, he went to reside with him, as his friend and companion at Rome. Cato was more proud of this acquisition than of his military exploits; and on his return home he devoted his time either to the society of Athenodorus, and other philosophical friends, or to the service of his fellow-citizens in the forum. On being chosen quæstor, Cato, by his upright and steady administration of justice, merited the highest applause. In every capacity he evinced an inviolable regard to integrity; and whilst engaged in the business of the senate, he was

indefatigable in the discharge of his duty; even when among his philosophical friends at his farm in Leucania, he never permitted his attention to be taken from the welfare of the state. It was during one of these recesses, that he discovered the danger which threatened the republic from the ambition of Metellus, and he immediately determined that private enjoyment should give way to public duty. That he might be in a capacity to oppose the designs of Metellus with effect, he offered himself as a candidate for the office of tribune of the people; and being chosen, he executed the duties of the appointment with a degree of candour, independence, and probity, which fully established the high opinion of his merits previously formed by the public, notwithstanding the illiberal jests which Cicero, inconsistently with his own general professions, cast upon his stoical virtue.

The affairs of the Roman people fell now into a state of the utmost confusion, and powerful factions were repeatedly formed against the commonwealth. Cato, considering that the necessity of the times required it, joined the party of Pompey, afterwards became a companion of his flight, and at the head of an army supported his cause. When the battle of Pharsalia had been lost, which cut off the hopes of Pompey, Cato, with a small band of friends and fifteen cohorts, of which the former had given him the command, still attempted to support the expiring cause of his leader, which he considered to be that of liberty. He determined to follow Pompey into Egypt, and had arrived upon the African coast; there he was met by Sextus, Pompey's younger son, who informed him of the murder of his father. Cato, upon receiving these tidings, marched the small force under his command into Lybia to meet Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, and Varus, to whom Pompey had given the government of the Roman territories in Africa, and who were paying their homage to Juba. Though importuned to take

the command of the African forces from those officers, he refused on the ground that they had been legally appointed; but at the request of Scipio, and the inhabitants, he took charge of Utica. The defeat of Scipio and Juba, in the battle of Thapsus, contracted the remaining strength of the republic within the walls of this small city. Here Cato, as a last effort, convened his little senate to deliberate upon measures for the public good; their consultations were ineffectual, and he despaired of being able further to serve the state. He therefore advised his friends to provide for their safety by flight, for his own part resolving not to outlive the liberties of his country. At the close of an evening in which he had conversed with more than usual spirit on topics of philosophy, he retired with cheerfulness to his chamber, where, after reading a portion of Plato's *Phædo*, he ordered his sword which had been removed to be brought to him. His attendants delayed, whilst his son and friends entreated him to give up his fatal purpose; the stern philosopher dismissed them from his apartment, and again took up the book. After a short interval, he stabbed himself below the breast, and expired A. U. C. 707, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. Whilst Cato lived, he exhibited to his fellow-citizens an example of manly virtue; and by his death taught the conquerors of the world that the noble mind can never be subdued.

Cuncta terrarum subacta,
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.

Horace.

“I see the world subdu'd,
All but the mighty soul of Cato.”

The Peripatetic philosophy.—This found its way into Rome in the time of Sylla, who, when the city of Athens fell into his hands, became possessed of the library of Apellico, containing the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, which he forwarded to the capital of the world. This rich

prize soon engaged the attention of several eminent Romans. Tyrannio, a celebrated grammarian and critic, whom Lucullus had brought as a captive from Pontus, but whose learning and genius soon procured his liberty, and raised him to distinction, obtained permission not only to peruse, but to transcribe the manuscripts. When Andronicus Rhodius was informed of this good fortune on the part of Tyrannio, being exceedingly desirous to possess the writings of these philosophers, he engaged the latter to give him an exact copy of the originals. Finding upon perusal that they were imperfect in many places, through the decay of the materials upon which they had been written, he supplied the deficiencies by conjecture, and at the same time endeavoured to illustrate obscure passages by notes; in this corrected, or perhaps as it may be considered adulterated state, the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus were made known to the Roman people. The obscurity of the writings of Aristotle greatly obstructed the progress of the Peripatetic philosophy, which had comparatively few admirers, or patrons. Cato, though devoted to the stoic sect, had among his chosen friends Demetrius, a peripatetic, with whom he conversed shortly before his death. Crassus paid some attention to the Aristotelian doctrines, and employed one of this school as a preceptor. Piso, who was well versed in philosophy, had with him for many years Staseas, a peripatetic of some celebrity; and Cicero himself committed the charge of his son's education at Athens to Cratippus of this school, whom he pronounces to be in his judgment, not only the first of his class, but the most excellent philosopher of his age. Nevertheless, the peripatetic sect was not generally popular, or much followed at Rome.

The Epicurean philosophy, owing to the violent opposition which it met with in Greece from the Stoics, and the irregularities practised by some of its followers, entered Rome in very indifferent odour. This was much increased

by the credulity with which Cicero believed the calumnies circulated against its founder, and the vehement part he took in blaming its followers. At the same time there were many individuals of high distinction in Rome to whom the character of Epicurus appeared little deserving of censure, and who were of opinion that true philosophy was to be found in his opinions. Among these were Torquatus, Velleius, Trebatius, Piso, Albutius, Pansa, and Atticus, men of respectable characters, several of whom lived in terms of intimacy with Cicero: Atticus in particular, being his bosom friend, to whom he wrote many confidential letters, afterwards collected in sixteen books, and preserved among his works. C. Cassius too, according to Plutarch, is to be added to the above list; and several Greek philosophers of this sect enjoyed the patronage of illustrious Romans. Some admirers of Epicurus attempted to introduce his philosophy into Rome in the Latin language; the true doctrines of this sect, however, were neither fully nor correctly stated by any Roman writer, till Lucretius, with accuracy of conception, and clearness of method, as well as with great strength and elegance of diction, unfolded the Epicurean system in his poem *De Rerum Natura*, 'On the Nature of Things.' It is stated, that he studied philosophy at Athens, under Zeno the Sidonian, and Phædrus. Towards the close of his life, he was frequently insane; and it was during his lucid intervals that he wrote his celebrated poem; it is addressed to his friend and patron Memmius, and is still extant.

The Pyrrhonic, or Sceptic sect.—The doctrines of this school of philosophy made little or no progress at Rome; being superseded by the new academy, which adopted some of its opinions, but with greater caution and sobriety. The height of extravagance to which the sceptics had by this time advanced in theory and practice, brought such odium upon them, that although Ænesidemus endeavoured to

revive the sect at Alexandria, and dedicated his works to Lucius Tubero, an illustrious and talented Roman, the sceptic philosophy deservedly fell into neglect.

Philosophy under the Emperors.—When the commotions and changes of the Roman state were finally closed by the accession of Augustus to the imperial purple, and Rome found peace and happiness under his amiable and paternal sway; philosophy not only retained its station, but appeared with increasing lustre. This is to be ascribed in a great measure to the cultivated taste and elegant manners of the Augustan age. Numerous individuals of distinction, with Augustus himself, were patrons of literature and science, not merely so in outward profession, and empty pretension, but actually affording aid and encouragement in every way to deserving and talented men. During the reign of this emperor, so generally prevalent was the study of philosophy, that nearly all statesmen, and men of letters were conversant with the works of the philosophers, and discovered a bias towards some ancient system. The splendour of literary genius and merit which burst forth at this period, is chiefly to be ascribed to the example and personal character of the emperor himself, not only an accomplished and elegant scholar, but munificent in his patronage; such an age has never been seen, and may never be seen again. This taste, now established, continued through several succeeding ages, even under those emperors more addicted to pleasure and licentious indulgence than to wisdom.

The language and feelings of nearly all the great poets of this age are tinged with philosophy. Virgil, whose immortal works remain a perfect model of poetic harmony and elegance, was in his youth instructed by Syro in the doctrine of Epicurus; and its spirit appears in several parts of his writings; although he has introduced allusion to the dogmas of different sects, where he considered

that they could adorn and illustrate his subject. It is evident, however, that his predilection was for the Epicurean system. Horace, in his writings, also breathes the spirit of this sect, not that he entertained a very serious attachment to any particular school of philosophy. He was rather inclined to ridicule the folly of the different systems than to become a strenuous advocate for any of them. While young, he studied philosophy at the academy at Athens, but he expressly asserts his independence, and disclaims subjection to any master. Ovid has many passages in his works which prove him to have been well acquainted with Greek philosophy, particularly the ancient theogonies. In his *Metamorphoses*, he introduces the doctrines of the Pythagorean school, regarding the transmigration of the soul, and the vicissitudes of nature. His real opinions, however, are doubtful. Manlius, in his astronomical poem, dedicated to Augustus, opposes the doctrines of Epicurus concerning nature, and maintains with the Stoics, that God is the soul of the world, pervading and animating all things. Lucan, in his *Pharsalia*, shows a strong affection for the stoic school, in which he was educated by Cornutus, an eminent teacher of that sect. Persius also, instructed by the same preceptor, was a zealous advocate for the stoical doctrine of morals. And the tragic poet Seneca everywhere discovers his attachment to the same school. In his dramatic writings stoic philosophy is said to walk the stage in buskins. The character of the Roman historians was also imbued with philosophy. The writings of Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus exhibit proofs that they had studied and profited by their attention to this science. Strabo casts much light upon this subject, and discovers himself to be well acquainted with the history and tenets of the various sects. He classes himself among the stoics, and followed their principles. The names of many other illustrious Romans might be added to the above, such as Mecænas, whose unbounded goodness and generous liberality to learned men,

have immortalized his name, and endeared his memory to all succeeding ages. Canius Julius, who met the death inflicted on him by Caligula with stoic firmness, expressing his satisfaction that he was so soon to make the experiment which would determine if the soul be immortal. Thraseas-Pæ-tus, a Roman senator, who emulated the virtues of Cato, and in whose death, says Tacitus, Nero hoped to cut off virtue herself; with many others not inferior in merit. At length the distinction of sects was confounded, in that unhappy production of ignorance, called the scholastic philosophy.

Although all the tenets of Grecian philosophy were carefully studied at Rome, so soon as the nation had leisure to become contemplative, two of the various systems became particularly prevalent; these were, the Stoic, and the Epicurean, professing the most opposite doctrines, and which could scarcely be supposed would be adopted by the same nation. It has, however, been correctly observed, that the Romans were a different people, at different epochs.

The philosophy of the stoics was prevalent so long as the republic lasted, and was more in unison with such a form of government than any other. Its followers maintained the existence of a providence eminently wise and good, watchful for the advantage of mankind. The chief good was virtue; and true wisdom consisted in that state of mind in which all the passions were at rest: right and wrong were the only admissible grounds for preferring one thing to another. The true ills were moral imperfections; and whatever did not depend upon ourselves, could not be considered as a real good or evil: such things might give pleasure or pain, but the wise man looked upon them with indifference. Other blessings again were independent of fortune; these every man might procure for himself, and no emotion could arise from them but satisfaction; they always attended the individual who acted

conformably to virtue, to the laws established by the Author of Nature, and for the good of mankind. The Epicureans admitted the existence of gods, but did not allow that their exalted natures could take an interest in human affairs. The value of virtue, they considered, should be measured by the pleasure it gave, and this might be enjoyed in the midst of bodily pain; consequently, they represented virtue as the most prudent choice, from the satisfaction it conferred. Regarding the founder of this sect, Seneca, though a stoic philosopher, bears the following testimony to the character of Epicurus; "I the more freely quote the excellent maxims of Epicurus, in order to convince those who become his followers from the hope of screening their vices, that to whatever sect they attach themselves they must live virtuously. Even at the entrance of his garden they will find this inscription, 'The hospitable keeper of this mansion, where you will find pleasure the highest good, will present you liberally with barley-cakes, and water from the spring. These gardens will not provoke your appetites by artificial dainties, but satisfy it with natural supplies. Will you not, then, be well entertained?'" There can be no doubt, that the original simplicity of the Epicurean¹ mode of living was departed from by the followers of that school, and that it fell into disrepute from the abuse of its doctrines. So long, however, as Rome remained proud, wise, and virtuous, her national philosophy was stoicism; but when she became vain, idle, and vicious, she gave herself up to a degraded form of epicureanism.

¹ During the siege of Athens by Demetrius, which happened when Epicurus was forty-four years of age, while the city was severely harassed by famine, he supported himself and his friends on a small quantity of beans and water. He died with great calmness, although afflicted with severe pain from his disease, the stone, in the second of the 127th Olympiad, in the 73rd year of his age.

CHAPTER IX.

RISE OF PROSE WRITING AMONG THE ROMANS.

CATO AND VARRO — HISTORY — FABIUS PICTOR, &c. — CELEBRATED HISTORIANS OF ROME IN THE FIRST AND HIGHEST DEPARTMENT — SALLUST, CÆSAR, LIVY, AND TACITUS — ILLUSTRATIONS.

In the first ages of Greece, verse was the usual written language, prose being subsequently introduced as an art and invention; and among the earliest attempts to commemorate the deeds of the Roman republic, the eighteen books of the poet Ennius, written in heroic verse, are worthy to be mentioned, although they cannot be ranked with works of regular history. During the progress of dramatic poetry, which has been already detailed, prose composition remained in a state of neglect and barbarism. The most ancient writer of those whose works have come down to us, is

Cato, the Censor, who flourished 184 B.C.

He was born in the 519th year of Rome, and exercised his pen on agriculture, of all the peaceful arts that one most in esteem among his countrymen. From his treatise *De Re Rustica*, which is greatly mutilated, we may gather much of an interesting nature regarding the habits and customs of the Roman people, in their more primitive and simple state. His work somewhat resembles the loose journal of a plain farmer; it contains rules of agriculture, with some receipts for making different kinds of cake and wine; also medical prescriptions¹ for the cure of various complaints, both in men and the lower animals. Cato begins his treatise rather abruptly, and in a way characteristic of the simple manners of its author. He says,

¹ His cures for diseases are not always medical recipes, but sacrifices or charms. The following is a specimen, for a luxation or fracture.—Take a green reed, and slit it along the middle, throw the

“It would be advantageous to seek profit from commerce, if that were not hazardous, or by usury, if that were honourable;¹ but our ancestors ordained, that the thief should forfeit double the sum he had stolen, and the usurer quadruple what he had exacted; whence it may be concluded, that they thought the usurer the worse of the two. When they wished highly to praise a good man, they called him a good farmer. A merchant is zealous in pushing his fortune, but his trade is perilous, and liable to reverses. But farmers make the bravest men, and the stoutest soldiers; their gain is the most honourable, the most stable, and the least exposed to envy. Those who exercise the art of agriculture are of all others least addicted to evil thoughts.” He then proceeds to give directions, many of them excellent and highly useful, regarding the purchase of a farm, the implements of labour, necessary buildings, variety of crops, management of vineyards and olives, the cultivation of fields for corn, the preservation of grain, &c. A remarkable feature in his work is the want of arrangement: the two hundred and sixty-two chapters of which it is composed appear so many rules committed to writing, as the daily labours of the field suggested. He gives advice about the vineyard, then goes to his corn-

knife upwards, and join the two parts of the reed again; tie it so to the place broken or disjointed, and say this charm, “Daries, Dardaries, Astataries, Dissunapiter;” or this, “Huat, Hanat, Huat, Ista, Pista, Fista, Domiabo, Damnaustra,” which will make the part sound again.

¹ It is very remarkable how beautifully the feelings of the Romans, in their days of virtuous simplicity, agreed with an express law ordained in the Bible for the Jews, “If thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him; yea, though he be a stranger. Take thou no usury of him, or increase, but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury.” Leviticus, chap. xxv. verses 35, 36, 37.

fields, and returns again to the former. It is evident that his treatise was not intended as a well-composed or regular book, but as a journal of incidental observations. Of the style, it is always simple, and at times rude, although not ill-adapted to the subject, being intended for his own family, and slaves, or servants; it suits our idea of the severe manners of the Censor.

Besides his treatise on agriculture, Cato left behind him several other works which have perished. A hundred and fifty orations by him were existing in the days of Cicero, and a book on military discipline. A number of his speeches were in objection to, or favour of particular laws, and measures of state, but many of them were pronounced in his own defence. He was about fifty times accused, and as often acquitted; in the eighty-fifth year of his age, when charged with a capital crime, he pleaded his own cause; and by his readiness, pertinacity, and bitterness, he not only completely tired out his accusers, he also earned the reputation of being if not the most eloquent, the most stubborn orator among his countrymen. The loss of the seven books *De Origibinus*, which Cato commenced in his vigorous old age, and finished shortly before his death, is deeply to be lamented by the historian and antiquary. This work is said to have been an inquiry into the history, antiquity, and language of the Roman people. He was the first author who attempted to fix the era of the foundation of Rome, which he calculated and determined to have been in the first year of the 7th Olympiad.¹ Plutarch mentions, that Cato omitted no opportunity of praising himself, and extolling his services to the state; this work, however, it is stated, exhibited much industry and learning, and if pre-

¹ The first year of the 7th Olympiad is the 752nd year B.C. Varro considered the foundation to have taken place about two years earlier; either, is as near the truth as we can now hope to arrive at.

served would doubtless have thrown considerable light on the early periods of the different states of Italy. Cato was also the first among his countrymen who wrote on the subject of medicine; the people, consisting of soldiers and farmers, were as yet strangers to luxury, although surgical operations might be frequently necessary in behalf of the former, and Rome had existed for five hundred years without professional physicians. Like every illiterate people, they believed that maladies were to be cured by the special interposition of superior beings, and that religious ceremonies were more efficacious for the recovery of health than remedies of medical skill; the Augurs and Auruspices thus became the most ancient physicians of Rome. In epidemic distempers, the Sibylline books were consulted, and the cures they prescribed were superstitious ceremonies. The apprehension of diseases raised temples to Febris, Tussis, and other imaginary beings, in order to avert the complaints they were believed to inflict. In Cato's book of domestic medicine, ducks, pigeons, and hares were the food he principally recommended. His recipes were chiefly extracted from herbs, and cabbage was a favourite remedy: we have already had a specimen of his charm for the cure of fracture. He hated the compound medicines introduced about this time by the Greek physicians; considering these foreign practitioners as the opponents of his own system, he lost no opportunity of vilifying their character, and recommending his countrymen to continue steadfast not only to their old Roman principles and manners, but also to the ancient unguents and salubrious balsams handed down to them from the experience of their grandmothers. It is certain, that Cato's old medical saws, charms and all, continued long in repute at Rome, and were still esteemed in the time of Pliny.

The next prose writer in the order of time, and one of the earliest talented authors among the Romans, whose

work has come down to us, is Varro. His book on agriculture has descended to us in a more complete state than that of Cato.

Varro flourished 70 B.C.

He was descended of an ancient senatorial family, and born A. U. C. 637. His life from early youth appears to have been passed chiefly in literary pursuits, and in the acquisition of that stupendous knowledge which has obtained for him the glorious appellation of "The most learned of the Romans." Regarding the variety of his talents, that he was a man of universal erudition, we may judge, not only from the splendid eulogium of Cicero, but more particularly from the circumstance, that Pliny has had recourse to his authority in every book of his Natural History. In the year 680 he was consul with Cassius Varus, and in 686 he served under Pompey in his war against the pirates, in which he commanded the Greek ships, and to whose fortunes he remained firmly attached. He was appointed one of his lieutenants in Spain, along with Afranius and Petreius, at the beginning of the war with Cæsar. After the surrender of his colleagues, Cæsar proceeded against him in person, but Varro was little qualified to cope with such an opponent. One of his legions deserted in his own presence, and his retreat to Cadiz, where he intended to retire, having been cut off, he surrendered at discretion in the vicinity of Cordova. With the generous magnanimity which usually distinguished him, Cæsar gave Varro his freedom, who, after proceeding to Dyrracchium to inform Pompey of what had passed, almost immediately went to Rome, where he indulged himself in the enjoyment of literary leisure. He afterwards arranged for Cæsar the books which that dictator had procured, and he lived during his government in habits of the closest intimacy with Cicero. Our author now passed the greater portion of his time at the various villas he possessed in Italy; one was at Tusculum, and had a beautiful prospect, with pure air;

another stood in the neighbourhood of Cumæ; and a third near the town of Casinum, in the territory of the ancient Volsci. He had also considerable farms attached to his villas, the cultivation of which would form an agreeable relaxation from his sedentary studies. After the assassination of Cæsar, Varro's villa at Casinum,¹ and almost all his wealth, which was immense, were seized by Marc Antony; who, not content with robbing him of his property, at the formation of the memorable triumvirate, entered his name in the list of proscribed, among those other friends of Pompey whom the clemency of Cæsar had spared. This illustrious and amiable man had now passed the age of seventy; and it is difficult to imagine a more hideous picture of sanguinary cruelty, than that of devoting to the hired dagger of the assassin, an individual so venerable by his years, habits, and character. Although doomed to death, there arose an emulation among his friends for the dangerous honour of saving him; and Calenus having obtained the preference, carried him to his country-house, where the profligate Antony² frequently came, without suspecting that it harboured a proscribed inmate. Here our author remained concealed till an edict was issued by the consul M. Plancus, under the seal of the triumvirs, exempting him and Messala Corvinus from the general slaughter. But though Varro thus passed in safety the hour of danger, he was unable to save his valuable library, which was placed in the garden of one of his villas, and fell a prey to an illiterate soldiery. After the battle of Actium, Augustus restored his wealth; his books, however,

¹ The modern St. Germano.

² The foolish and wicked Antony died an unhappy death by his own hand, under disgraceful circumstances, the miserable dupe of the abandoned Cleopatra, who in despair immediately followed him to the tomb, when she found that all her arts were of no avail to change the determination of Augustus, to exhibit her as a prisoner at Rome to grace his triumph.

were destroyed, and could not be replaced. Varro resided in tranquillity at Rome till his decease, which happened A. U. C. 727, in the ninetieth year of his age.

It was some years after the loss of his library, and when he had nearly reached the age of eighty, that Varro composed his work on husbandry, as he himself tells us in the introduction, which, in its display of erudition, affords a strong contrast to the simplicity of Cato. The first of the three books in his agricultural treatise is addressed by Varro to Fundanias, who had recently bought a farm, in the management of which he was desirous to be instructed. The information is communicated in the form of dialogue, and contains rules for the cultivation of land, whether for the production of grain, pulse, olives, or vines; and as a taste for flowers had begun to prevail at Rome in the time of Varro, he accordingly recommends their cultivation, and says, "It is right to have gardens on a large scale near a city, and to raise beds of violets, plantations of roses, and many other things which it is not worth while to raise on a distant farm, where there is no opportunity for disposing of them."

That Varro wrote his treatise on agriculture at a very advanced age, is evident from his own statement in the commencement of the work: "If I had leisure, Fundanias, I might write these things more conveniently, which I shall now explain as well as I am able; thinking that I must make haste, because if man be a bubble of air, I am far advanced in years; for my eightieth admonishes me to get my baggage together before I leave the world. Wherefore as you have bought a farm, which you are desirous to render profitable by tillage, and as you ask me to take this task upon me, I will try to advise you what ought to be done, not only during my life-time, but likewise after I am dead." Again: "I shall write three books for your instruction, to which you may have recourse if you make

inquiry what you are to do in husbandry. And because the gods assist the industrious, I will first invoke them; not the muses, as Homer and Ennius, but the twelve Dii Consentes; not those whose gilt images stand about the Forum, six males and as many females, but those twelve deities who preside over agriculture." Varro then proceeds to give an account of these divinities, and with considerable parade of learning he mentions all those authors who had written before on this topic. He continues, "I shall endeavour to explain this subject in three books; in one, I will treat of agriculture; in the second, of cattle; and in the third, of the villa department: passing by those things which I do not think belong to agriculture, I shall first show what ought to be distinguished from it, and then speak of these things following the natural divisions; they will be from three sources, from what I have observed in cultivating my own farms, from what I have redde, and from what I have heard from men of experience." In his second book, on the care of flocks and cattle, he says, "As I have written a book on agriculture for the use of Fundanias Uxor, I will dedicate this to you Tyrannus, who are so much pleased with the herd, and often come to market to purchase, that you may not add to your expenses. I shall do this with less difficulty, because I once had great flocks of sheep in Apulia, and kept many horses in the country about Reate." He divides the animals about which he treats into three classes; the lesser, goats, sheep, and swine; the larger, horses, asses, and oxen; and those which are not profitable in themselves, but essential to the care of others, the dog and mule. He directs particular attention to feeding, breeding, rearing, and the treatment of distempers. It is not a little curious to read what were considered the best points of a goat and a horse in the days of Pompey and Cæsar, with the qualities most desirable in an ox and a hog. This book concludes with instructions regarding the dairy and sheep-shearing.

The third book is addressed by Varro to Q. Pinnius. He says: "Thus when I consider that there are three kinds of farming which are established for the sake of gain, one relating to agriculture, the other to live stock, the third to the villa department, I composed three books; one to Fundania Uxor, the second to Tyrannus, the third I send to you, which I seem to think I owe to you as a neighbour, and on the score of friendship. For as you have a villa admired for a finished inside, and famous tessellated pavements, you might think it of little consequence unless the walls were also rendered respectable on account of your learning. I have sent you these things that it may be more admired for its real utility, as I was able to compose them, recollecting the conversation which we had on the subject of a perfect villa." The third book is interesting and ably written: our author divides the provisions, or moderate luxuries, to be obtained independently of tillage and pasturage in three branches; those of aviaries, hare-warrens, and fish-ponds. Under the first class are included thrushes, turtle-doves, ducks, &c.; the pigeon-house is treated of separately. As to game preserves, in the more simple ages of the republic, these were merely hare or rabbit warrens of little extent; as wealth and luxury increased, however, many acres were put apart, and sometimes contained within their limits goats, deer, and wild boars. Fish-ponds had increased in the same proportion, and the Romans now went to great expense in their formation; some of them belonging to the chief citizens being of large extent, and having subterraneous communications with the sea, others were supplied by rivers turned from their course. This work of Varro is widely different from that of Cato on the same subject. It is not a mere journal, written in a loose and unconnected manner, with brief precepts, like that of the Censor; but is a book composed on a regular plan, exact and methodical in its arrangement. Cato writes like an ancient country gentleman of considerable experience; he abounds in short

pithy sentences, intersperses his book with moral precepts and wise sayings, and was looked up to in his day as an oracle: Varro writes more like a scholar, than an individual of great practical knowledge; his treatise is embellished and illustrated by erudition, and that description of learning to be expected from an author, acquainted with all the Greek writers who had treated of the subject before him. Cato speaks of a country life, and of farming, as it is conducive to gain: Varro looks upon it as a wise and happy state, inclining to justice, sincerity, and temperance; and sheltering from evil passions, by affording that constant employment which leaves neither leisure nor temptation for those vices which prevail in cities.

Another treatise by this author, *De Lingua Latina*, although it has come down to us incomplete, is the most entire of Varro's writings, except his *De Re Rustica*. This work on the Latin language originally consisted of twenty-four books; the first three were dedicated to Publius Septimus, his quæstor in the war with the pirates; and the remainder to Cicero, which, with that of Cicero's *Academia* to Varro, has rendered their friendship immortal. The value attached to dedications from literary men by illustrious individuals at Rome, was so great, as hardly to be conceived in the present day; soundly learned themselves, they considered it the highest compliment which could be paid to them, as proceeding from superior minds, and no favour or kindness in their power to confer was withheld in return. Slaves, or prisoners of war, who possessed literary talents, were presented with their liberty, even, as we learn from Suetonius, after exorbitant sums had been given for them; thus, Luctatius Daphnis was purchased by Quintus Catulus for two hundred thousand pieces of money, because he was well versed in grammar, and shortly after set at liberty: this was certainly great encouragement. Antonius Gniphos, a Gaul, who had been taught Greek at Alexandria, to which

he had been carried in his youth, and afterwards instructed in Latin literature at Rome, was made preceptor in the family of Julius Cæsar; and subsequently gave lectures at his own house, the greatest men in dignity, and when advanced in age, frequenting his school. The science of grammar was in this state of progress, and high in repute, when Varro wrote his celebrated treatise, in the winter preceding Cæsar's death. The twenty-four books of which it consisted he divided into three great parts, with the same methodical arrangement that distinguishes his work on agriculture. The first six books were devoted to researches in etymology; the first, second, and third are lost; the fragments remaining commence at the fourth book, which, with the two following, are on the origin of Latin terms, and the poetical licenses taken in their use. The second division extended from the beginning of the seventh to the end of the twelfth book, comprehending the accidents of words, and the various changes which they undergo from declension, conjugation, and comparison. Our author admits but of two kinds of words, nouns and verbs, to which he refers all the other parts of speech. The ninth book terminates the fragments we possess of this work. The third part contained twelve books, and treated of syntax, or the junction of words, so as to form a sentence. It also contained a glossary, which explained the correct meaning of Latin terms.

The greatest service rendered by Varro to history, was his endeavour to fix the chronology of the world; and according to Censorinus he was the first who regulated chronology by eclipses; that celebrated grammarian has also preserved the distinction of three eras established by Varro. He could not determine the commencement of the first period, but he fixed the end of it at the Ogygian deluge.¹

¹ Supposed to have inundated the territories of Attica about 1796 years before the Christian era.

To this epoch of historical darkness he supposed that a kind of twilight succeeded, which continued till the institution of the Olympic games, which he calls the fabulous age; and as the Greeks digest their history with clearness and certainty by these games, Varro considered this period as the beginning of the true historical age. The building of Rome he places two years higher than Cato the Censor, 753 B. C. or in the 754th year before the Christian era, founding his computation on an eclipse, which it is stated preceded by a short time the birth of Romulus. The other writings of this great author, which were numerous, and on a variety of topics have perished. Antiquities, geography, civil history, satire, criticism, and philosophy, were all treated of by him. He was the contemporary of Marius and Sylla; of Pompey and Cæsar; of Antony and Augustus; and was fortunate enough to be able to prosecute his literary labours, till the conclusion of his prolonged existence; closing his life in the respect and esteem of all good men.

History.

The authentic materials for the early history of Rome, were, even in their original state, meagre and imperfect; consisting of short minutes, or memoranda of the principal events in each year, inscribed on wooden tablets by successive Pontiffs. These records, valuable so far as they went, were for the most part consumed in the conflagration of the city, consequent on its capture by the Gauls, 360 years after its foundation. The *Leges Regiæ*, the twelve tablets, and the few fragments of Pontifical annals, diligently searched for, and discovered after the sack of the city, could throw but little certain light on history, and the want of better information was supplied by false, and frequently incredible relations, from family traditions.¹ The mutilated inscriptions, scanty treaties, and family memoirs, indifferent as the correct information which they could

¹ “Ad ostentationem scenæ gaudentis miraculis, aptiora, quam ad fidem.—*Livy, Lib. V. c. 21.*

afford, may have been, became from the variations in the Latin language almost unintelligible to the generation which succeeded that in which they were composed. According to Polybius, the most learned Romans of his day could not read a treaty with the Carthaginians, concluded after the expulsion of the kings. Hence, it is evident, that such documents could be of little or no use to the historian.

When we remember, that Rome, after its foundation, was the residence of a rude and ignorant people; the art of writing, the only true guardian of events, being little practised, and critical examination unknown; that the writers of another nation would not think of accurately transmitting events to posterity, which have only become interesting from the subsequent conquests of the Roman empire; it will be evident, that the materials provided for the historian would necessarily be obscure. Regarding the early events of Roman history, when we find that Cicero and Atticus did not agree concerning them; that Polybius could write nothing about them with confidence; and Livy would neither undertake to confirm nor refute them. When we know, that literary men of the present day profoundly versed in antiquarian researches have come to the decision,¹ "That the history of Rome for the first four centuries is fictitious;" without offering so decided an opinion, it appears impossible to form any other conclusion, than that the history of Rome has not fair pretensions to accuracy before 350 B. C. We may in some measure judge of the correctness of the above inference, from the uncertainty which prevails in regard to Scipio Africanus, a hero who flourished 200 B. C., and comparatively at a recent period, when, according to Livy, "the accounts respecting his life, trial, death, funeral, and sepulchre were so contradictory, that he was not able to determine what tradition, or whose writings he ought to credit." It was

¹ The French Institute.—Niebuhr.

not till the middle of the sixth century from the foundation of the city, that regular annals began to be composed; nevertheless much might have been accomplished even at that period, in fixing the dates and circumstances of previous events under an able historian; unfortunately, however, the earliest annalist of Rome, Quintus Fabius Pictor, was totally unqualified for the task he had undertaken, either by research, fidelity, or judgment, and to his carelessness and inaccuracy is to be attributed much of the uncertainty which hangs over the early ages of Roman history. This individual, who flourished 216 B. C., commenced his annals with the foundation of the city, and brought down the series of events to his own time, the conclusion of the second Punic war. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for the great proportion of circumstances which preceded his own age, Fabius Pictor used only the authority of vulgar tradition. Dionysius has also pointed out many examples of his improbable narrations, inconsistencies, and negligence in investigating the truth of what he relates, besides his inaccuracy in chronology. Although little reliance can be placed on the account given by this author of the events which preceded his own time, and which includes a period of nearly five hundred years from the foundation of Rome, it is still more lamentable, that Fabius Pictor, a senator, and a man of distinguished family, should have given a prejudiced and incorrect statement of affairs during his own time, and in the management of which he had some concern. Polybius, who flourished not a great while after him, and was at much pains to inform himself accurately regarding the events of the second Punic war, even apologizes for quoting Pictor on one occasion as an authority, and says, "It is not that I think his relation probable enough to deserve credit." The opinion to be formed from the sentiments of these two eminent historians, is to some extent confirmed by the few fragments which remain of the annals of our

author, as they display a spirit of childish credulity and absurdity totally unworthy of an individual, taking up his pen to record the momentous affairs of a great and proud nation.

The character of Fabius Pictor, as a senator and eyewitness of many of the circumstances he recorded, unfortunately gave a degree of authenticity to his work which it did not deserve. His successors accordingly, instead of giving themselves the trouble to clear up the difficulties with which the history of the early periods was embarrassed, and which would have led to laborious investigation, preferred depending on the authority of our author. They copied him on the ancient times, and then added the transactions, subsequent to the period his work comprehends. This was the case with Cato the Censor, Calpurnius Piso, and the generality of the other historians who succeeded him. Even Livy admits, that his own account of the second Punic war, was chiefly founded on the statement of Fabius Pictor. The Roman annals, hitherto a dry register of facts, the accuracy of which appears by no means certain; while the art of historic composition was in a very low state, were now to be eclipsed by the splendid talents of the first historian among the Romans, who applied the science of philosophy to the study of facts. This was

Sallust, who flourished 50 B.C.

This celebrated writer was a native of Amiternum, in the country of the Sabines, and born in the year of Rome 668. He received his education in the capital of the world, and according to his own statement, he was desirous in early life of devoting himself to literary pursuits; surrounded as he was by so many illustrious men, he found it impossible to resist the contagious ambition for military, or political distinction. At the age of twenty-seven, he obtained the appointment of quæstor, which entitled him to a seat in the senate; and about six years afterwards he was elected

tribune of the people. While holding this office, he attached himself to Cæsar's fortunes, and with one of his colleagues conducted the prosecution against Milo for the murder of Clodius. In 704 he was expelled the senate on the pretence of immorality, but in reality from the factious hatred of the patrician party to which he was opposed. After this disgrace, which for the present destroyed his hopes of preferment, he left Rome, and joined his patron, Cæsar, in Gaul, to whom he continued faithfully attached. In particular he bore a share in the expedition to Africa, where the remains of Pompey's party had united. When that region was finally subdued, Sallust was appointed by Cæsar, Prætor of Numidia, and nearly at the same time he married Terentia, the divorced wife of Cicero. He held the government of this province but a short time, although he enriched himself by those exactions so common among the Roman governors. On his return home an accusation was made against him by the Numidians, he escaped however through the friendship and influence of his patron. Tired of active life, having acquired rank and wealth, our historian chose for his favourite retreats a villa at Tibur, and a noble palace which he built at Rome, surrounded by delightful pleasure grounds, so well known and celebrated, as the gardens of Sallust. Here, or at his villa, he passed the remaining years of his life, dividing his time between literary pursuits and the society of his friends, among whom were Lucullus, Messala, and Cornelius Nepos. He died 35 years B. C.

The character of Sallust is one which has excited much investigation and interest, while very different opinions have been formed regarding it. That he was not a man of strictly pure morals is evident; and that he acted in the usually rapacious manner of Roman governors cannot be denied; but that he was guilty of extreme licentiousness is not worthy of belief; such assertions being the offspring of that

malignant and envious party spirit, so prevalent in his time. Besides an error has been made in attributing the follies of his nephew Crispus Sallustius to our author. Sallust is accused of having treated the character of Cicero unfairly, by withholding that due share of applause which his conduct deserved in the suppression of the Catiline conspiracy; this may have arisen from disgust at the excessive and ill-disguised vanity of Cicero, whose character as we shall see hereafter was not free from faults. It may also be expecting too much to suppose, that there should have been a very kind feeling between our historian, and the individual whose divorced wife he had married.

To Sallust the high honour has been awarded, of being called the father of philosophical history; a species of writing so successfully cultivated in modern times; his compositions also exhibit great judgment, and knowledge of human nature. He particularly excels in painting the characters of individuals. Having no model to copy from among the writers of his own country, he naturally recurred to the works of the Greek historians. The garrulous familiarity of Herodotus was not to his taste; and the elegant simplicity of Xenophon was too difficult to attain. He has therefore endeavoured to emulate the vigour and conciseness of Thucydides, and has succeeded to such an extent as to lead to the opinion, that he carried sententious brevity to a vicious extreme. By the rejection of the use of copulatives, his sentences stand alone, and produce a monotonous effect, wanting that flow and variety which constitute so great a charm in the historic period. This has induced Lord Monboddo to say, that supposing each sentence were in itself beautiful, there is not variety enough to constitute fine writing. Another error in the style of our historian is an approach to antiquated phraseology, from his having introduced a number of words selected from the works of the older Roman authors, and almost obsolete.

The first work of Sallust was, the Conspiracy of Catiline; he had attained the age of twenty-two, when it broke out, and was an eye-witness of the whole proceedings. He had therefore ample opportunity of being able to record with accuracy its progress and termination, and he has certainly acquired the praise of a veracious historian. That he has written with a bias, or favourable inclination towards his patron, may not be unlikely, as it is difficult for an individual recording the events of his own time, entirely to divest himself of all private feeling. That the character of Catiline is exaggerated appears scarcely possible, the man being so thoroughly depraved and vicious.

Sallust commences his history of the Catiline Conspiracy with an exordium, as follows: "It is the duty of all men who would maintain their rank in the scale of creation, strenuously to endeavour that their lives be not passed in a state of obscurity. Without activity and usefulness, they will little surpass the herds of the field, which are doomed by nature to grovel on the earth, the slaves of sordid and unruly appetites. The faculties of man are of a two-fold description, those of the mind, and those of the body. The mind is given us as the ruling principle, the body merely as the subservient. By the one we perceive our relations to the gods; our resemblance to the lower animals is attested by the other. On this account, it has appeared to me, that true glory consists in the efforts of genius, not in the display of corporeal vigour; and since our span of life is alike short and uncertain, we should remember, that in honest fame, and the fair applause of posterity, there is found an existence beyond the grave. What are the gifts of wealth, or the attractions of beauty? Do not they prove the sport of accident, or decay by the stroke of time? It is genius alone that lays a just claim to glory and immortality. In the early ages of the world, an impartial estimate of things was not thus easily made; hence it was a question long

undecided among mankind, whether force of intellect, or bodily strength, were of the greater avail in warlike achievements? In projecting an enterprise, it was seen, that there is need of deliberate wisdom; but, when once in the field, we must place reliance on a decisive activity." Again, "Survey the whole circle of human affairs, and you will find that they evince the ascendancy of intellectual vigour. The skill of the husbandman, the discoveries of the navigator, the labours of the architect, all spring from that powerful source. Yet, strange as it may appear, multitudes are found in every period neglectful of their best faculties. Since in indolence and sensuality without knowledge, and without cultivation, they pass through life like strangers in a foreign land, with a direct inversion of the order of nature, accounting thought a burden, and sensual gratification their sole delight; whether a race so listless, thus crawl upon the earth, or sink into the grave, is in my mind of little moment. In either case they leave behind them no memorial of their existence. He alone seems worthy to live, and truly in possession of rational enjoyments, who dedicates his talents to some active pursuit, who seeks for fame either in the field of glory, or in the walks of science. He, whose patriotic efforts can benefit his country, deservedly ranks high in the scale of merit. He, who by his eloquence ennobles it, is entitled to considerable praise. By arts, as well as by arms, we may open the road to eminence, and the men who achieved, and those who recorded illustrious deeds, have obtained, and deserved the applause of ages."

In mentioning himself, he says, "I know not how far I am qualified for this undertaking. At an early age I was ambitious like most others, to enter on public life; but many were the obstacles that crossed my pursuits. Instead of the modesty, the moderation, the greatness of soul, which I had vainly figured, avarice, impudence, and open bribery pervaded every department of the state. For a mind as

yet uncontaminated by vice, it was natural to revolt from the scene with detestation. Yet what could be expected from youth and inexperience? Inflamed by ambition, I was carried away with the torrent; and although I usually abstained from the profligacy of others, yet to me the same thirst for preferment, brought the same evils, the same envy and reproach, that attended its votaries. Repose, however, came at last; I withdrew from a scene of danger and disquietude, resolving to dedicate to calm retirement what still remained of life. But in bidding adieu to public affairs, it was no part of my plan to neglect the value of time, or sink into a listless inactivity. I took no delight in the pursuits of agriculture, or the sports of the field, occupations at best, comparatively servile, and in which the mind has little share. The studies, which a vain ambition had too long interrupted, were now resumed, with fresh diligence, and I formed the design of composing a history of Roman affairs. In this attempt a connected series of annals was not my object, but a selection only of such portions of time, as recommended themselves by their interest, or deserved the notice of posterity. For a task like this, I trust I am the better fitted, as I can bring to it a mind, in which hope and fear are no more, and where all the partialities of party are extinguished. The conspiracy of Catiline is now the subject which I mean to treat, in a compendious but impartial narrative. There are in history few events, that can be accounted more memorable, whether in regard to the profligacy which it displayed, or the unexampled horrors it had prepared for the commonwealth."

The delineation of character is one of the most trying departments of history to the impartiality of a writer, particularly where he has been contemporary with the individuals he portrays, and connected with the transactions he records. Several of the characters drawn by Sallust have been regarded as master-pieces. He has not only

seized on the most prominent features, but he has also exhibited the delicate shades, and thrown around them a lively and appropriate colouring. The portrait drawn of Catiline conveys a perfect idea of his mind and person. Sallust says, "Lucius Catiline was descended from a family of illustrious rank. He possessed in an eminent degree both vigour of mind and bodily strength; but his disposition, naturally wicked, was rendered by habit profligate and irreclaimable. With a constitution capable of enduring beyond belief the extremes of cold, of want, of continued watching, he united a spirit at once daring, crafty, and versatile. Yet the genius of the man was towering and romantic; his ambition was of that ardent description which loves the vast and incredible, aiming at objects beyond its attainment." Again—"Catiline had early entered on the career of vice; while yet a youth he had an intrigue with a noble virgin, he had seduced a priestess¹ of Vesta, besides other acts of a similar nature, no less criminal and impious. Captivated at length by the charms of Aurelia Orestilla, an elegant woman, but without a recommendation except her beauty, he offered her his hand in marriage. By a former connection Catiline had one son, now grown up to man's estate, and on that account Orestilla refused her consent to the match; the result was, that the unhappy youth fell by the hands of his father, who thus, by a deed of horror, removed the obstacle that stood in the way of this infamous alliance. Of the truth of the story no doubt remains; to me indeed, it appears abundantly probable, that the conspiracy was matured and hastened by this event. At enmity alike with heaven and earth, Catiline felt the power of a guilty conscience, from the torment of which he could procure no relief, whether in the tumult of business, or the stillness of repose. Hence the deadly paleness that over-

¹ She was the sister of Terentia, the divorced wife of Cicero, afterwards married to Sallust.

spread his cheek, the dim and ghastly eye, the unequal gait, seen sometimes in a slow, and at other times in a quick and troubled step. Hence the wild distraction which sat upon his countenance, while his soul seemed brooding over some desperate and gloomy deed. In a city so overgrown and so corrupt as Rome had become, there was ample room for Catiline to exert his talents. The ascendancy of wealth was complete; its excellence was universally acknowledged, power and honours followed in its train; from the same era the decline of virtue may be dated; poverty was now held ignominious. Of the most wicked characters he found it easy to compose a band, which he kept as a body-guard around his person. No arts of seduction were left untried by Catiline to fascinate the youth; and they were accordingly trained in such a course of vice as best suited his designs. Their minds, he knew, being soft and flexible from inexperience, would more easily be entangled by his arts. With indefatigable industry he marked and indulged their predominant passions; both his purse and influence were ready in their service. It was his great object to work upon their affections; and by gaining an ascendancy, to fix them in his interest."

Julius Cæsar, and Cato of Utica, having delivered their opinions at considerable length to the senate, and both being possessed of great influence, that venerable body went over to the opinion of the latter, and immediately passed the following decree: "It having appeared to this assembly, that, by a combination of pernicious citizens, the Commonwealth is brought into the utmost danger, and the authors being clearly detected, and brought to light by the evidence of Titus Volturcius, and the deputies of the Allobrogi; and, those traitors being by their own confession convicted of a conspiracy against their country, of a deliberate plan of blood, and massacre, and general conflagration; this assembly does accordingly hold them as condemned for

treason and rebellion; and directs, that agreeably to ancient usage, they shall suffer death, the punishment of their crimes." In conformity with this decree, all the chief conspirators under arrest, were strangled in the evening of the same day. Sallust has drawn a parallel between Cæsar and Cato, which is one of the most celebrated parts of his narrative. We are presented with favourable likenesses of both these talented opponents. Their defects are thrown into the shade, while the bright qualities of each are brought forward, to show the different abilities by which individuals arrive at eminence. After some philosophical reflections on the earlier, and then state of the republic, he says, "In justice to the present age, we must admit, that it has been able to boast of two remarkable exceptions, Marcus Cato, and Julius Cæsar, both extraordinary men, but of a genius widely different. As the subject we are considering has offered them to our notice, it would be unjust to pass them by, without some tribute to their memory. I will, therefore, attempt in the best manner I am able, to give a faithful delineation of their temper and their manners. Cæsar and Cato, in nobility of birth, years, and eloquence, may be said to have been nearly on a par. Greatness of soul they equally possessed; they both reached the summit of glory; still it was a glory peculiar to each, and certainly acquired by opposite methods. Cæsar gained the suffrages of mankind by acts of kindness and public munificence; Cato by an incorruptible integrity, and the purity of his manners. In the former, the mild virtues of humanity and benevolence, rendered him the object of esteem. In the latter, a stern severity gave elevation to his character. Cæsar, by the practice of generosity, by the forgiveness of injuries, by the alleviation of distress, solicited the goodwill of his fellow-citizens. Cato bestowed no favours, and yet commanded their admiration. To the protection of the one, misery looked for refuge; profligacy dreaded punishment from the vengeance of the other. Cæsar from his

youth had persisted in a course of vigilance, active industry, and incessant application, with an eye to figure on the stage of public life. He was unwearied in the service of his friends, of his own concerns neglectful; and such was his unbounded generosity, that to refuse a boon worthy of acceptance was a feeling foreign to his heart. Ambition, above all, was his ruling passion; he panted for the command of armies, for the conduct of some new and arduous war, where his extraordinary talents could be displayed to advantage. On the other hand, the qualities of Cato were of a less dazzling cast: he cultivated the virtue of moderation; he studied correctness of conduct; but, above all, the lessons of austere philosophy. In riches, he never vied with the wealthy, and he declined a competition in turbulence with the factious, yet Cato was not without the spur of honest emulation. It was his to contend for the prize of valour with the brave; with the modest, for the praise of modesty; and with the guiltless, for the honours of innocence and integrity. Content with the actual possession of virtue, he was careless about displaying the semblance to the world. By this means it happened, that the less anxiously he courted fame, the more conspicuously it blazoned his character."

Although holding up the character of Catiline to mental detestation, Sallust has done justice to his courage in the closing scene of life. "Having taken their measures, and sufficiently reconnoitered the ground, Petreius gave orders to sound the charge, directing the line to move forward at a slow but steady pace. The troops of Catiline made a similar movement. As soon as the two armies drew so near, that the light-armed troops could commence the engagement, seized with mutual impatience, both threw away their javelins, and with a loud shout rushed sword in hand to the attack. A close action ensued. The veterans under Petreius, mindful of their former deeds, fell on the rebels

with furious valour; the latter, fighting hand to hand, received them with a firmness no less conspicuous. It was the combat of despair against inflamed resentment. Meanwhile, in the front of the line, Catiline with the light troops performed wonders. He supported the broken ranks; he relieved the wounded with fresh men, and kept a watchful eye on every exigency. Wherever the enemy pressed, there he was ready to charge in person. In a word, he braved danger in all its forms, and manifested himself, at once, a valiant soldier, and a consummate commander. Petreius, when he perceived such skill and boldness, and that Catiline disputed the field, with far greater vigour than he at first expected, bore down, with the Prætorian cohort, into the thickest of the enemy. The rebels were thrown into confusion. After some resistance, they completely gave way, and a dreadful havoc followed. Having carried his point, Petreius without delay charged both the flanks of his opponent. Manlius, and the native of Fæsulæ, who commanded the rebel wings, were unable to stand before him, and they fell gallantly fighting in the foremost ranks. Catiline now saw that all was lost; the bulk of his force totally routed, and himself with only a few followers maintaining the combat. Mindful of an illustrious descent, and of his former dignity, he resolved to cast no disgrace on the last moments of his life; then rushing into the thickest of the enemy, he continued fighting with a brave despair, and was soon stabbed to the heart."

The Conspiracy of Catiline was followed by the History of the Jugurthine war, and these subjects chosen by Sallust certainly form two of the most important topics in the history of Rome. The periods which he describes, although painful, are highly interesting, as exhibiting a great nation in her downward course to ruin. The virtuous simplicity, integrity, and proud elevation of mind, originally characteristic of the Roman people, were all sinking under the

torrent of wealth, licentiousness, and corruption. Civil wars, usurpations, massacres, display the mutual rage of embittered faction; furious struggles between the patricians and plebeians, the grossest venality in the senate, injustice in the courts, and rapine in the provinces, are the prominent features. Another fearful evil which gave a deadly aspect to the above collection of misfortunes, was the oppressive debts of individuals. Usury, described by Cato the Censor as looked upon in his day with more abhorrence than robbery, was now in constant practice; avarice and the love of money had sapped all the better feelings; many of the patricians were in possession of the revenues of princes, others again were burdened with an enormous load of debt; the poor were uncared for, and left to starve, or to attach themselves to desperate men, anxious to relieve their difficulties even by the ruin of their country. It was this lamentable state of things, so forcibly painted by Sallust, which led to the conspiracy of Catiline, and rendered it so nearly successful. Conspiracy, rebellion, and treason, are not the causes, but the effects of a vicious system of government; even in the present day, it is the constant custom to judge from effects, without looking to the cause of them; ignorant and weak as the bulk of mankind may be, they are not such fools as to adopt rebellion, with its painful consequences, even when successful, either as a pastime, or an amusement.

The war with Jugurtha broke out A. U. C. 641, although the narrative of Sallust was deduced from the reign of Masinissa, or at least from the time when Numantia was taken and destroyed by Scipio Africanus, 620, and it closed with the capture of Jugurtha, under Marius, in 648; between this time and the era of Catiline's conspiracy, A. U. C. 690, a space of two-and-forty years had elapsed. The history of this war, if not so important to the vital interests and immediate safety of Rome, exhibits a more ex-

tensive field of action, and a nobler theatre of war. With the exception of Mithridates, no sovereign gave so much employment to the Roman arms, and seldom were the people so desponding at one period, or more elevated by ultimate success. The account of the vicissitudes of this contest are highly interesting; the multiplicity of resources, hairbreadth escapes, faithlessness of disposition, and levity of Jugurtha, are powerfully contrasted with the perseverance and prudence of the Roman commanders, particularly of Metellus. The appointment which Sallust held as Prætor of Numidia, which suggested the composition, was also favourable to the authority of the work, by affording an opportunity for collecting materials, and procuring information. In a very different spirit from his predecessor, Fabius Pictor, he carefully examined the different accounts concerning the history of Africa, particularly the documents preserved in the archives of King Hiempsal; he directed them to be translated for his own use, and they proved peculiarly serviceable in the statement he has given regarding the geography and inhabitants of Africa. The only unnecessary part of this work is his exordium at its commencement; as it contains very similar sentiments and expressions with that in the opening of Catiline's conspiracy. In his able and spirited introductory sketch of Jugurtha, Sallust says, "As Jugurtha grew up to man's estate, he displayed both a robust and a captivating form; but the endowments of his mind were far more conspicuous. Despising the incitements to indolence and luxury, he was wholly trained up in the Numidian manners; he delighted in the hardy exercises of that nation; he contended with young men of equal years in feats of horsemanship, in swiftness of foot, or in throwing the lance; and by all, notwithstanding that his superiority was acknowledged, he still retained their affection. To the manly pursuits of the chase, he likewise dedicated a great portion of his time, constantly among the first to wound the lion, and other

beasts of prey. In the beginning, Micipsa was delighted, and flattered with the aspiring genius of his nephew, and he anticipated the lustre, which talents so splendid would reflect upon his kingdom. But a closer attention began to open his eyes. He beheld Jugurtha, in the flower of youth, with a rising reputation; his own children helpless infants, and himself declining in the vale of years. The picture sunk deep into his mind, and terrified his fancy. When he revolved the nature of the human heart, he remembered that it is the slave of power, easily dazzled by ambition, and headlong in the gratification of its unruly appetites. On every side the case was full of difficulty. The spirit of Jugurtha, which was prompt and daring, and thirsted for military glory, seemed to furnish means more secure than to remove him by secret practices, or open violence. Under colour of distinction, he might be exposed to dangers in the field, and the rest fortune would perhaps accomplish. It happened at this time, that Micipsa was sending to the Romans, then engaged in the siege of Numantia, succours of horse and foot, which were about to depart for Spain; accordingly, the young prince was put at the head of the Numidian auxiliaries, in the hope, that ostentatious of his valour, he would soon finish his career, either through the rashness of inexperience, or the fury of the enemy. But these expectations the event utterly disappointed. The genius of Jugurtha was keen and penetrating, as well as ardent in enterprise. No sooner had he arrived at Numantia, than he applied himself to study with attention the temper of Publius Scipio, the Roman general, no less than that of the enemy. He was diligent and indefatigable in the discharge of his duty, prompt and modest in the obedience of orders, and if danger were in question, he was the first to face it. Scipio was not without a discernment of men; the Numidian prince he soon ranked among his intimate friends, and daily loaded him with proofs of favour and partiality."

Our historian has beautifully depicted the pitiable state of Jugurtha, after the discovery of the treachery of his friend and confidant Bomilcar, to betray him, in the hour of his misfortune, into the hands of the Roman commander. He says, "Jugurtha's peace was gone for ever; night and day he was haunted by the terrors of suspicion. All who approached him were regarded with mistrust; every place, every hour, every person could inspire it. Friends and foes, countrymen and strangers, were alike objects of apprehension. Wherever he went, although he proceeded with caution, yet he trembled at every sound. Without any fixed residence, he would pass the night sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another, often ill befitting the dignity of a king. At times, he would suddenly start up from his sleep, and grasping his sword wildly prepare for resistance. Thus did fear, like a ghastly spectre, never cease to haunt his imagination, until it drove him almost to madness."

Besides the above works of Sallust, which have come down to us entire, he also wrote a civil and military history of the republic, in five books, dedicated to Lucullus, the son of the eminent commander of that name. This work was the last he composed; and correctly speaking, it included only a period of thirteen years, although a very interesting one, viz. from the resignation of the dictatorship by Sylla to the passing of the Manilian law, conferring on Pompey authority almost equal to that of the former, and the command of the army destined to act against Mithridates. This production commenced with two discourses: the one, containing an account of the government and customs of the Romans, from the origin of their city to the commencement of the civil wars; the other, presenting a view of the dissensions between Marius and Sylla; so that the work may be considered as connecting the conclusion of the Jugurthine war, and the breaking out of Catiline's conspiracy. Of this valuable history, only a few short and

unconnected fragments remain. There are, however, four orations and two letters in a more entire state; the first is an oration against Sylla, after he had abdicated the dictatorship, but was still believed to have great influence in Rome, by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus; the second is that of Lucius Philippus against Lepidus; the third by the tribune Licinius to increase the power of the office which he held, and to depress the patricians; the fourth is a talented address of Marcus Cotta to the people during his consulship, in order to satisfy and calm their minds at the indifferent success of public affairs, which, without blame on his part, had not been conducted to a prosperous issue. There are also existing two political discourses on the administration of the government, in the form of letters to Julius Cæsar, ascribed to Sallust, although there is considerable doubt if they were actually from the pen of that historian. His contemporary and patron

Cæsar, flourished 45 B. C.

This illustrious man was the son of Caius Cæsar¹ and Aurelia, the daughter of Cotta; he was born on the 12th of July, in the year of Rome 654, and 99 B. C. At the age of fifteen he lost his father; and the year afterwards he was made Flamen Dialis, or the high priest of Jupiter. His marriage with Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, excited against him the hatred of Sylla; to whose suspicion he had from his early years been exposed, in consequence of his aunt Julia being the wife of Marius. To escape death he was obliged to conceal himself, until by the intercession of the vestal virgins, and the entreaties of his relations, Sylla reluctantly consented to spare him, dreading

¹ A surname given to the Julian family, who were a branch of the Julian tribe, either from one of them being born with a thick head of hair (*cum cæsarie*); or, according to some, from one of them having kept an elephant, which in the Phœnician language bears the same name.

his abilities and ambition, although Cæsar afterwards obtained his friendship. The first military honour which our historian obtained was a civic crown at the siege of Mitylene, when the Roman army was commanded by Thermus the prætor. On Sylla's decease Cæsar returned to Rome, and in his twenty-third year he brought an accusation against Dolabella, the pro-consul of Africa, for extortion, which terminated in the acquittal of the defendant. In this trial Cæsar gave such proofs of his talents, as in the public opinion ranked him among the most distinguished orators. Not holding any public office, and wishing to avoid the odium attendant on an unsuccessful impeachment, he retired to Rhodes, to study eloquence under Apollonius, the son of Milon, an eminent teacher of rhetoric. Off the island of Pharmacusa, near the former place, while on his way, he was captured by pirates, with whom he remained forty days; at the end of that time he purchased his liberty for fifty talents, and soon after obtaining his freedom he procured a ship, pursued them, and fulfilled the threat which he made when their captive, by putting them all to death. His eloquence procured him friends at Rome, and the generous manner in which he lived served also to promote his interests. He obtained the office of High Priest, "Pontifex Maximus," at the death of Metellus; and having passed through the inferior employments of the state, he was appointed over Spain, where he signalized himself by his valour.

During his questorship his wife Cornelia, and aunt Julia, the widow of Marius, died, and he delivered a funeral oration from the Rostrum in honour of them. He then married Pompeia, the daughter of Q. Pompeius, and grand-daughter of Sylla. To gain the kind feelings of the people, Cæsar when Edile surpassed all his predecessors in the magnificence of his shows, and the success of his military operations rendered him a favourite with the army. He divorced Pompeia, be-

cause Clodius had been detected in his house, while she and other matrons were celebrating the rites of Bona Dea, the goddess of chastity, from which every male was carefully excluded. Cæsar, although satisfied of his guilt, declined bearing evidence against him, probably wishing to avoid the painful and indelicate details usual in such cases; he however put Pompeia away, remarking "that the wife of Cæsar should not even be suspected." He was now made consul, and the senate appears to have become apprehensive of his power and consequence; which induced the decree appointing the consuls of that year, to provinces of little importance, with the charge of woods and roads. This provoked the resentment of our historian, and he effected, after considerable difficulty, a reconciliation between Pompey and Crassus. The interest of the former he had energetically supported in the passing of the Manilian law, conferring extraordinary power on that commander. With Crassus, an individual of immense riches, but little personal merit, he had long been on terms of friendship. Of all the Roman citizens, Pompey possessed the greatest power, Crassus the most wealth, and Cæsar the highest abilities; and the combination of these three illustrious men, was called the First Triumvirate. To strengthen their union, Cæsar gave his daughter Julia, a woman of most amiable disposition and engaging manners, in marriage to Pompey; and so great was her influence both with her father and husband, that no disagreement took place between them so long as she lived. Previously to the expiration of his consulship, he obtained from the people through his agent, the tribune Vatinius, the province of Gallia Cisalpina and Illyricum, or Upper Albania, with three legions for five years, and the senate at his own desire added Gallia Transalpina, or France, and another legion.¹ These legions were gradually increased

¹ The numbers in this corps were different at different times. Under Romulus a legion consisted of 3000 foot and 300 horse.

to thirteen. It is believed that Cæsar set out for France in the end of March, 57 B. C. Of his conquest of that country, checking the inroads of the Germans, and over-running part of Britain, the commentaries of the Gallic war contain a rapid, but ably written account.

The death of Julia and of Crassus broke up the friendly feelings which till then appeared to exist between Pompey and Cæsar. Through the influence of the former, the senate received the petitions of the latter with contemptuous indifference, and the corruption of that body led to a civil war. Cæsar now crossed the Rubicon, the boundary of his province, which the laws did not allow him to pass while in command; this was in itself a declaration of hostilities. Pompey, who had been talking very largely, fled with his friends to Greece. The former having conquered Italy in a few weeks, entered Rome, and took possession of the treasury, which had not been removed. Leaving the army of Italy under the command of Antony, Cæsar went against Pompey's best troops, which were in Spain under Petreius, Afranius, and Varro, observing, on quitting the capital, "that he was going to fight an army without a general; and would return to fight a general without an army." He was well received by the inhabitants of the different towns on his way thither, except the people of Marseilles, who refused to admit him within their gates. Having brought the war in Spain to a successful termination, and compelled Marseilles to surrender, he again left Rome, to which he had returned, and went in quest of Pompey. After several skirmishes, the two armies came to a decisive engagement on the plains of Pharsalia, in Thessaly, on the 12th May, 48 B. C.; when Pompey was totally defeated, and his camp taken. Immediately after this disastrous battle, he, accompanied by only thirty horse-

When Hannibal was in Italy, the legion had 5000 soldiers. Marius made it 6200 foot and 700 horse, the highest number it ever contained.

men, hastened to the shores of the Archipelago, and fled to Egypt, where he was basely murdered with the consent of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, whose father he had restored to the throne.¹ Cæsar, after he had made a noble use of his victory, and displayed great clemency towards the vanquished, pursued Pompey into Egypt, which he reached soon after his death, and embracing the cause of Cleopatra, he became attached to her person, and for a time the character of the gallant warrior was forgotten in her arms. His danger was great at Alexandria, but he extricated himself with much address. Having conferred the crown on Cleopatra,² with whom he associated in the kingdom her younger brother Ptolemy, and leaving Egypt tributary to his power, he marched to put down the revolt of Pharnaces, king of Pontus, and subdued his country with such ease and rapidity, that he wrote an account of his success to Rome in that brief, but memorable letter, containing only these words—

Veni, vidi, vici.

“I came, I saw, I conquered.”

To quell the disturbances in Italy, he returned to that country, but shortly left it for Africa; here he defeated the republican forces under Scipio in an engagement near Thapsus, and reduced the kingdom of their ally Juba, sovereign of Mauritania, to a Roman province; on receiving an account of this action, Cato killed himself at Utica. Returning to Rome, Cæsar at an interval of a few days triumphed four different times, in consequence of his having conquered France, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa; that is, Numidia, or Algiers; Mauritania, or Morocco; and Fez.

¹ The murderers of Pompey were afterwards put to death by Cæsar and Brutus.

² He had a son by her called Cæsario, or Cæsarion, who at the age of eighteen, five years after he had been proclaimed by Cleopatra and Antony, king of Egypt, Cyprus, and Cælosyria, was put to death by Augustus.

The two sons of Pompey, Cneius and Sextus, aided by Labienus, having collected a powerful army in Spain, Cæsar was again obliged to leave the capital, and march against them; they met in battle at Munda; and although the former displayed great bravery and generalship, victory after a severe struggle declared for the latter, which put a final period to the war, leaving him in peaceful possession of the Roman empire. From this time Cæsar held the command of the army, disposal of the treasury, and nomination of magistrates. The senate now conferred on him all the honours they could possibly bestow; they elected him consul every year, and dictator for life, appointed him superintendent of public morals, and gave him the title of Imperator, and father of his country. Nor did they stop here; he was decreed an elevated seat in the theatre, a golden chair in the senate-house, and one on the tribunal in the forum; they even voted him temples, altars, and priests.

To the talents of a consummate general, Cæsar added those of an elegant historian, and a persuasive orator. He has been compared with Xenophon in his writings; simplicity is the characteristic of both; the last-mentioned has more rhetorical flow and softness, while the other rather leans towards severity. Cæsar is remarkable for clearness, ease, and equality of expression; there is nothing swelling or depressed, and scarcely a word occurs which is not chosen with a view to its ultimate effect. He has much more purity and correctness of diction than Sallust. The opinion of Cicero, who compared the style of Cæsar to the unadorned simplicity of a Grecian statue, may be considered the highest degree of praise, since he entertained no kindly feelings towards the dictator, and the manner is widely different from that which he employed himself. His narrations are perspicuous and natural, at once chaste and animated. His lucid and picturesque descriptions place the scenes distinctly before the reader, who accompanies

him in all his marches, and is a witness of every engagement; few passages occur in his writings that the simple cannot understand, and the most polished do not approve. As Cæsar records but little at which he was not personally present, or heard of from those acting under his immediate directions, he possessed the best information regarding the affairs of which he wrote. When he speaks of himself, it is without affectation or arrogance; he relates his successes with moderation: on mentioning the failure of his friends, he does it with tenderness and indulgence; even of his enemies he has the generosity to speak without insult or contempt. To compose a plain statement of his campaigns, for the amusement of himself and his friends, appears rather to have been his object, than to give a specimen of his talents as a profound historian, or deep politician. Hence we must not expect in the Commentaries a finished history; they are rather of the nature of outlines, or memoirs, which he probably entertained the idea of seeing filled up, either by his own hand at a future opportunity, or by that of a friend.

The only writings of this illustrious man which remain to us, are seven books of the Gallic, and three of the civil war. The eighth book of the Gallic war is from the pen of A. Hirtius Pansa, his friend and follower, written at the request of Balbus, bringing down the narration of Cæsar's military operations in Gaul, to the time when he crossed the Rubicon, forming the commencement of the civil war. His Alexandrian and African expeditions are also by that author, although it is not known who wrote his Spanish campaigns. Cæsar commences his first book of his Commentaries thus—"The whole country of Gaul is divided into three parts, of which the Belgians inhabit one, the Aquitains another, and a people called in their own language Celts, in ours Gauls, the third. These all differ from each other in their language, customs, and laws. The

Gauls are divided from the Aquitains by the river Garonne, and by the Marne and the Seine from the Belgians. Of all these nations, the Belgians are the most warlike, as being farthest removed from the culture and refinements of the province, and but little resorted to by merchants, who furnish the means of luxury. They are also situated next to the Germans, who inhabit beyond the Rhine, and with whom they are continually engaged in war. For this reason likewise, the Helvetians are distinguished by their bravery beyond the rest of the Gauls, because they are almost constantly at war with the Germans, either for the defence of their own territories, or acting themselves as the aggressors. One of these divisions, that which we have said was possessed by the Gauls, begins at the river Rhone, and is bounded by the Garonne, the ocean, and the territories of the Belgians; it touches also towards the Helvetians and Sequani, upon the river Rhine, extending itself northward. The country of the Belgians, commencing from the remote confines of Gaul, stretches as far as the lower Rhine, running all the way between the north and east. Aquitain extends from the Garonne to the Pyrenean mountains, and that part of the ocean which borders upon Spain; its situation is north-west."

His determination to invade England is mentioned in the fourth book of his Commentaries, as follows:—"Cæsar resolved to pass over into Britain, having certain intelligence, that in all his wars with the Gauls, the enemies of the commonwealth had received assistance from thence. He indeed foresaw, that the season of the year would not permit him to finish the war, it being near the end of summer; yet he thought it would be of no small advantage, if he could but take a view of the island, learn the nature of the inhabitants, and acquaint himself with the coast, harbours, and landing-places, to all of which the Gauls were strangers; for scarcely any except merchants resort to that

island, nor have they a knowledge of the country beyond the sea-coast, and the parts opposite to Gaul. Having therefore called together the merchants from all parts, they could not inform him of the largeness of the island, or how powerful the nations were that inhabited it, or of their customs, art of war, or the harbours fit to receive large ships. For these reasons, before he embarked himself, he thought proper to send C. Volusenus with a galley, to obtain some knowledge of these things; commanding him, so soon as he had informed himself, to return with all expedition. He himself marched with his whole army into the territories of the Morini, because from thence was the nearest passage into Britain; here he ordered a great many ships from the neighbouring ports to attend him, and the fleet he had made use of the year before in the Venetian war. Meanwhile, the Britons having notice of his design by the merchants that resorted to their island, ambassadors from many of their states came to Cæsar with an offer of hostages, and submission to the authority of the Roman people. To these he gave a favourable audience, and exhorting them to continue in the same mind, sent them back into their own country. Along with them he dispatched Comius, whom he had constituted king of the Atrebatians; a man in whose virtue, wisdom, and fidelity he greatly confided, and whose authority in the island was considerable. To him he gave it in charge to visit as many states as he could, and persuade them to enter into an alliance with the Romans, letting them know at the same time, that Cæsar designed as soon as possible to come over in person to their country. Volusenus having taken a view, so far as could be done by one who had resolved not to quit his ship, or trust himself in the hands of the barbarians, returned on the fifth day, and acquainted Cæsar with what he had observed. Having collected about eighty transports, which he thought would be sufficient for the carrying over two legions, Cæsar distributed the gallies he had over and

above to the quæstor, lieutenants, and officers of the cavalry; there were besides eighteen transports detained by contrary winds, at a port about eight miles off, which he appointed to carry over the horsemen. The rest of the army, under the command of Q. Titurius Sabinus and L. Arunculeius Cotta, were sent against the Menapians, and those cantons of the Morini which had not submitted. P. Sulpicius Rufus had the charge of the harbour where he embarked, with a strong garrison to maintain it. The wind springing up, Cæsar weighed anchor about one in the morning, ordering the cavalry to embark and follow him; but as these orders were executed slowly, he himself, about ten in the forenoon, reached the coast of Britain, where he saw all the cliffs covered with the enemy's forces. The nature of the place¹ was such, that the sea being bounded by steep mountains, the enemy might easily launch their javelins upon us from above; not thinking this therefore a convenient landing-place, he resolved to delay till three in the afternoon, and wait the arrival of the rest of his fleet. Meanwhile, having called the lieutenants and military tribunes together, he informed them of what he had learned from Volusenus, instructed them in the part they were to act, and particularly exhorted them to do every thing with readiness at a given signal, agreeably to the rules of military discipline; which, in nautical affairs especially, required expedition and dispatch, because of all others the most changeable and uncertain. Having dismissed them, and finding both the wind and tide favourable, he made the signal for weighing anchor; and after sailing about eight miles farther, stopped over against a plain and open shore.² But the barbarians perceiving our design, sent their cavalry and chariots before, which they made use of in battle, and following with the rest of their forces endeavoured to oppose our landing: and indeed, we found

¹ Dover.² Deal.

much difficulty on many accounts; for our ships being large, required a great depth of water; and the soldiers, who were unacquainted with the place, and had their hands embarrassed and filled with their armour, were at the same time to leap from their ships, stand breast high amidst the waves, and encounter the enemy; while they, fighting upon dry ground, or advancing only a little way into the water, having the free use of their limbs, and in a place which they perfectly knew, could boldly cast their darts, and spur on their horses, well inured to that kind of service. All these circumstances serving to spread a terror among the men, who were strangers to this way of fighting, they pushed not the enemy with the same vigour and spirit usual to them in combats on dry ground. Cæsar observing this, ordered some gallies, a kind of shipping less common to the barbarians, and more easily managed and put in motion, to advance a little from the transports towards the shore, in order to set upon the enemy in flank, and by means of their engines, slings, and arrows, drive them to some distance. This proved of considerable service to our men; for what with the surprise occasioned by the make of our gallies, the motion of the oars, and the playing of the engines, the enemy were forced to halt, and in a little time began to give back. But our men still hesitating to leap into the sea, because of the depth of the water, the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, having first invoked the gods for success, cried aloud, ‘Follow me, fellow soldiers, unless you would betray the Roman eagle into the hands of the barbarians; for my part I am resolved to discharge my duty to Cæsar, and the Commonwealth.’ Upon this he jumped into the sea, and advanced with the eagle against the enemy; whereat our men, exhorting one another to prevent so signal a disgrace, all that were in the ship followed him; which being perceived by those in the nearest vessels, they also did the like, and boldly approached the enemy. The battle was obstinate on both sides; but our men, as being

neither able to keep their ranks, nor get firm footing, nor follow their respective standards, because leaping promiscuously from their ships, every one joined the first ensign he met, were thereby thrown into confusion. The enemy, on the other hand, being well acquainted with the shallows, when they saw our men advancing singly from the ships, spurred on their horses, and attacked them in that perplexity; in one place, great numbers would gather round a handful of the Romans; others falling upon them in flank, galled them severely with their darts; which Cæsar observing, he ordered some small boats to be manned, and to ply about with soldiers. By this means, the foremost rank of our men having got firm footing, were followed by all the rest, when falling briskly upon the enemy, they were soon put to the rout; but as the cavalry had not yet arrived, we could not pursue or advance far into the island, the only thing wanting to render the victory complete."

Full justice is done in the Commentaries to the gallantry of the ancient Britons. On their manner of fighting in chariots, Cæsar says, " Their way of fighting with their chariots is this: firstly, they drive them on all sides, and throw their darts, insomuch that by the terror of the horses, and noise of the wheels, they often break the ranks of their opponents. When they have forced their way into the midst of the cavalry, they quit their chariots, and fight on foot: meantime the drivers retire a little from the combat, and place themselves in such manner as to favour the retreat of their countrymen, should they be overpowered by the enemy. Thus in action they perform the part both of nimble horsemen, and stable infantry; and by continual exercise and use have arrived at such expertness, that in steep and difficult places they can stop their horses upon a gallop, turn them which way they please, run along the pole, rest on the harness, and throw themselves back into their chariots with incredible dexterity." After his

first landing and victory, 52 B.C., Cæsar went back to Gaul. In the following summer, he returned, as it is mentioned in the fifth book, and prosecuting his victories, reduced a considerable portion of England under his dominion. The pressure of affairs in Italy, however, suspended for a time the progress of the Roman arms in Britain.

In the fifth book, England, and its inhabitants, are thus described: "The inland parts of Britain are inhabited by those whom fame reports to be natives of the soil. The sea-coast is peopled with Belgians, drawn thither by the love of war and plunder. These last passing over from different parts, and settling in the country, still retain the names of the several states whence they are descended. The island is well-peopled, full of houses, built after the manner of the Gauls, and abounds in cattle. They use brass money, and iron rings of a certain weight. The provinces remote from the sea produce tin, and those upon the coast iron; but the latter in no great quantity. Their brass is all imported. All kinds of wood grow here the same as in Gaul, except the fir and beech-tree. They think it unlawful to feed upon hares, pullets, or geese; yet they breed them for their diversion and pleasure. The climate is more temperate than in Gaul, and the cold less intense. The island is triangular, one of its sides facing Gaul, the extremity towards Kent, whence the nearest passage to Gaul lies eastward; the other stretches south-west; this side extends about five hundred miles. Another side looks towards Spain, westward; over against this lies Ireland, an island considered not above half as large as Britain, and separated from it by an interval equal to that between Britain and Gaul. In this interval lies the isle of Mona, besides several other lesser islands, of which some say, that at the time of the winter solstice they have night for thirty days together. We could make out nothing of this upon inquiry; and only discovered, by means of our hour-glasses,

that the nights were shorter than in Gaul. The length of this side is computed at seven hundred miles. The last side faces the north-east, and is fronted by no part of the continent, only towards one of its extremities it seems to eye chiefly the German coast. It is thought to extend in length about eight hundred miles. Thus the whole island takes in a circuit of about two thousand miles. The inhabitants of Kent, which province lies wholly on the sea-coast, are the most civilized of all the Britons, and differ but little in their manners from the Gauls. The greater part of those within the country never sow their lands, but live on flesh, and go clad in skins. All the Britons generally paint themselves with woad, which gives a bluish cast to the skin, and makes them look dreadful in battle. They are long-haired, and shave all the rest of the body, except the head and upper lip. Ten or twelve of them live together, with their wives and children." The eighth book, or continuation of Cæsar's Commentaries, written by A. Hirtius Pansa, is commenced with a preface to Balbus, in which he says, "In consequence of your repeated importunities, I have at last been prevailed on to engage in a very delicate work, fearing lest my daily refusals should be construed to flow rather from idleness than a sense of the difficulty of the undertaking; I, therefore, here present you with a continuation of Cæsar's Commentaries of his wars in Gaul, though not in any respect to be compared with what he himself wrote on the same subject; nor with the Memoirs of the Civil War, which he likewise left behind imperfect, and which I have, in the same manner carried down from the transactions at Alexandria to the end, I will not say of our civil dissensions, which are like to have no end, but of Cæsar's life. I would have all who read these pieces know with how much reluctance I engaged in this design, that I may be the more easily acquitted of the charge of arrogance and folly for presuming to insert my writings amongst those of Cæsar. It is universally agreed, that the

most elaborate compositions of others, fall far short of the elegance of these Commentaries. He, indeed, only intended them as memoirs for future historians; but being everywhere in such high esteem, they serve rather to discourage other writers, than furnish them for an attempt at history. This circumstance the more commands our admiration, because while the rest of the world can judge only of the beauty and correctness of the work, we also know with what ease and dispatch it was composed. Cæsar not only possessed the talent of writing in the highest perfection, but was likewise best able to unfold the reasons of those military operations, which he himself contrived and directed. On the contrary, it was my misfortune to be present neither in the Alexandrian, nor African wars; and though I had many of the particulars relating to both from his own mouth, yet we give a very different attention to things, when we hear them only through an admiration of their novelty and greatness, than when with a view of transmitting them to posterity. But I forbear any further apologies, lest in enumerating the reasons why my work ought not to be compared with that of Cæsar, I fall under the suspicion of flattering myself; that in the judgment of some, it may not seem altogether unworthy of such an honour. Adieu."

Although these Commentaries comprehend but a short space of time, and are not the general history of a nation, still they embrace highly important events, detailing some of the finest military operations among the ancients. We behold in them all that is great and consummate in the art of war: the ablest commander of the bravest nation recording the history of his own campaigns; placed at the head of one of the finest armies ever formed, devoted to his fortunes, and opposed by military prowess only second to his own. His occasional digressions to the manners of the Gauls and Germans are also interesting and instructive,

and are the only accounts to be relied on with regard to the institutions and customs of these two great nations at that remote period. In the conclusion of the third book of the Civil War, Cæsar mentions the commencement of that of Alexandria. Hirtius, who continued the work, was not present either at the succeeding events of this Egyptian contest, or during the rapid campaigns in Pontus, or that against the remains of the Pompeian party in Africa; he collected the chief events, as he tells us above, from the conversation of Cæsar, and the officers who were engaged in these contests. He has evidently imitated the style of his master; and the resemblance which he has fortunately attained, gives an appearance of unity and consistence to the whole series of these ably written and authentic memoirs. It appears, that Hirtius carried down the history to the death of Cæsar; the latter part, however, of the Commentaries is lost; and it appears now to be generally allowed, that he was not the author of the Spanish war, which relates Cæsar's second campaign in Spain against young Cneius Pompey, who having assembled those of his father's party that had escaped the disasters in Thessaly and Africa, and being joined by some of the native powers, still presented a formidable resistance, till his hopes were finally crushed by Cæsar in the decisive battle of Munda. Besides a few juvenile pieces mentioned by Suetonius, and a collection of apophthegms, this illustrious historian left at his death two books on grammar, and a poem which he called *Iter*, or the journey; but these, with his letters to the senate, and his friends, are now lost. Of Cæsar's talents as an orator, we have the opinions of Cicero and Quintilian. His orations were admired for two qualities not often united, strength and elegance. Cicero considers him as a first-rate orator, and Quintilian asserts, that he spoke and fought with equal spirit; had not ambition, says the latter, diverted Cæsar from the careful study of rhetoric, he would have rivalled Cicero himself in eloquence.

From the moment that Cæsar was styled Imperator, and hailed as father of his country, he directed the whole of his attention to the prosperity and happiness of the Roman people. He forgot that there had been opposite parties, and was beneficent alike to the friends of Pompey and his own. He laboured to reform every species of abuse or grievance; justice was administered without partiality; order became introduced into all the departments of the state; the separate rights of the different magistrates were defined, and his paternal care was extended to the most distant provinces. He founded a public library¹ at Rome, reformed the kalendar,² the foundation of the Julian year, which, as it did not deviate above one day in an hundred years, continued in use till the time of Pope Gregory XIII. who made the requisite alteration A.D. 1582. Another important and useful work commenced under the eye and direction of this great and illustrious man, was, the graphic survey of the whole Roman empire. Extensive as their conquests were, the Romans had hitherto done little or nothing for geography as a science; the countries they had subdued were only considered as regarding the levies they could furnish, and the taxation they could endure; Cæsar was the first who formed a more exalted view. The draining of the marshes in Italy, the navigation of the Tiber, and the embellishment of Rome, alternately employed his splendid and capacious mind. He adorned the capital with magnificent buildings; and caused Carthage and Corinth to be rebuilt, establishing colonies in both cities. His glory, however,

¹ During the war which Cæsar waged against Alexandria, the library in the Brachium was burnt, and 400,000 volumes laid up there were all consumed; fortunately that of the Serapeum still remained, and soon grew to be larger, and of more note than the former; Cleopatra added to it, with the consent of Antony, the library of Pergamus.

² Well might Scaliger pronounce this great improvement to be, "Omnium formarum temporibus convenientissima."

was now drawing to a close, malignity and envy triumphed, his uncommon good fortune had created him enemies; a number of the senators, at the head of whom were Brutus and Cassius, formed a conspiracy against him. Having taken his seat in the senate on the 15th of March, the conspirators crowded around him; Cimber gave the signal by laying hold of his robe, and Casca struck him the first blow. Starting from his seat, Cæsar defended himself with spirit and energy, until he found that Brutus was also one of them; and when he remembered that he had saved the life of that man, had conferred on him his friendship, and loaded him with numberless favours, the bitter shock of such monstrous ingratitude was too mighty for the heart of the glorious Roman; he made no farther resistance, but exclaimed, "And thou, Brutus!" folding his robe around him in dying dignity that his person might not be exposed by his fall, he sunk down under the daggers of the assassins, and instantly expired, having received twenty-three wounds. Thus closing his brilliant and extraordinary life at the age of fifty-six, in the year of the city 709, and 44 B. C.

Few circumstances in ancient history, have been more frequently canvassed than the assassination of Julius Cæsar, and many views have been put forth on this lamentable event, exhibiting much ignorance and prejudice. The author cannot close his brief account of the writings and life of this great man, without offering a few remarks, in what he is desirous should be considered as in a philosophical and impartial spirit. By the advocates of the conspirators, it has been argued, that Julius Cæsar, having abolished the republican form of government, and crushed the liberties of his country, had rendered himself amenable to the penalty of death. This belief is equally erroneous and unfair, in defiance of proof, and founded on false premises. Such advocates fall into the very error committed

by the conspirators themselves, viz. that of looking to effects, and not to causes. The author considers it a fixed principle, that a republic is only respectable, or can be endurable, where a nation is endowed with a high degree of intelligence, combined with much virtue. If a people be ignorant, they fall a prey to designing demagogues; and if corrupt, the strong hand of power becomes a necessary consequence, in order to curb licentiousness, and protect life and property. The world is now much older, if it be not much wiser, for mental improvement is very slow. Moreover, the above principle has been clearly illustrated by the frequent attempt to establish republics in modern days; with one¹ solitary exception, they have all begun and ended in the same point; commencing under a feeble despotism, and ending in a stronger one. Republics have neither been successful, nor indeed scarcely practicable,

¹ The United States of North America, in their peculiar situation, can scarcely as yet be brought forward either way. A vast country, with a population but thinly scattered along the banks of its rivers; the circumstances which influence older governments have not had time to operate. Even now there is much of a painful nature, to the eye of a philosopher, to contemplate in that republic; the extreme of liberty in one part of the country, all the horrors of slavery in another, a low and vicious press carrying its deadly pollution into every grade of society. Dark clouds are rising on the political horizon of the United States; the monstrous principle of repudiation, and an insatiable grasping after money, awaken apprehension, if such feelings increase, that the bursting of these clouds will exhibit a corruption and depravity unparalleled in the history of the world. Let us hope, the people of the United States will perceive their position before it be too late; and that the thick crust of superficial ignorance and self-conceit may be penetrated by the knowledge—that a nation, however large its territories, however great its wealth, if devoid of honesty and honourable principle, will be scouted by the great family of mankind as deservedly infamous.

from the obvious reason—that mankind has not heretofore been able to supply the amount of intelligence and virtue, which such a form of government demands.

The ancient governments of Greece and Rome, however, were not, strictly speaking, republics, they more closely resembled oligarchies, although in fact, that of the Roman approached very nearly to what we understand by a constitutional form of government. In a republic the people are supreme; in an oligarchy the nobility hold the greater share of power; and in what is called a constitutional government, the nobility and people have certain rights and privileges fixed, and defined by law. The system of the Romans certainly resembled the last, more than either of the others; defective in the serious disadvantage of there being no permanent head of the state endowed with real power; and here an evil arose, apparently inseparable from that system; bodies of men usurped and monopolized an undue share of power, which led to a state of constant jealousy between the patricians and plebeians. However splendid the characters of many individuals in the Roman commonwealth may be; however delightful to contemplate the epoch of its virtuous simplicity, from the expulsion of the Tarquins to the death of Hannibal, a period of 326 years; nevertheless, the deadly feuds which frequently burst out between the higher and lower classes; with the revolution of Virginius, and that of Publilius; the former upsetting the government of the Decemvirate, and the latter relieving the poorer classes from the griping avarice of their patrician creditors, by the abolition of personal servitude, and imprisonment for debt, will not permit us to avert our view from the air of turbulent insecurity, that so often threatened the existence of the state.

The first dictator, however, who rose upon the corrupt degeneracy of the Roman people was Marius; this change took place 87 B.C. He was a rude illiterate man, revengeful and

sanguinary ; but a talented soldier, and not devoid of that stern pride and loftiness of mind so characteristic of his country. He was succeeded by Sylla, an individual attached to literature, and a good scholar, endowed with high abilities, great magnanimity, and grandeur of mind ; still inexorably cruel, and regardless of human life. We behold him at one time remorselessly directing several thousands of the first families in Rome to be put to death ; and while many of the assembled senate were fainting around him, in an agony of terror, at the shrieks and groans of these unfortunate persons, remarking, with cool composure, “ that it was only some criminals he had ordered to be punished :” again, we find him turning from his anger, and sparing the city of Athens in respect to the memory of the great and excellent Socrates ; lastly, resigning the supreme authority when absolute, and retiring into a private station. Sylla, whose faults were neither few nor trifling, will ever live in the remembrance of mankind, so fascinating are such acts of uncommon and lofty grandeur when exhibited by illustrious men.

The third dictatorship, held by Cæsar, differed in a most important point from that office when filled by Marius and Sylla. The senate having conferred it upon Cæsar, and the appointment being confirmed by the people, he thus acquired it with a legal title. Equal to his predecessors in bravery, superior to them in talent, but immeasurably so in that generous magnanimity which consists in the pardon and forgetfulness of injury, so correctly expressed in the elegant compliment paid to him by Cicero, “ that he forgot nothing but the injuries done to himself ;” it is difficult to regard the fate of this illustrious man, otherwise than with feelings of sincere regret. There is much in the character of Julius Cæsar of an endearing nature, with which every amiable disposition can sympathize. He was gifted with an innate kindliness of heart, a degree of

goodness and considerate generosity rarely to be found. It is pleasing to say, that while Master of the Empire of the then civilized World, he never shed a drop of blood wantonly, nor ever committed an act of oppressive cruelty. His virtues, and freedom from personal selfishness, led to his death; had he condescended to attend to the intimations given him, or redde the document put into his hand, containing the names and intentions of the conspirators, he might have prevented the catastrophe, and lived for many years to confer happiness on the Roman people. The conspirators, on the other hand, could not be ignorant of the actual state of their country; they must have known, from preceding events, that patriotism and virtue had long sunk under venality and corruption. The opinion of Jugurtha, expressed about ninety years before the epoch of Cæsar's power, was founded on observation and experience, when he declared that Rome and all her inhabitants were to be sold, if a purchaser of sufficient wealth could be found. It is difficult to suppose, that they had not remarked from Catiline's conspiracy, and numerous other circumstances, the unfitness of their countrymen to govern themselves; consequently, that a talented and beneficent ruler assuming the reins of state, would be for all parties a fortunate circumstance. But no: looking upon their conduct in the most favourable light, they dreamed an impossibility, in defiance of facts, that Rome could again be restored to a state of virtuous simplicity, and their homocidal act was a failure. The author, however, does not feel justified in taking such a view. Regarding Brutus, their leader, he cannot help for one moment condemning such a specimen of patriotism, exhibiting the crime of ingratitude in its deepest dye, by the assassination of a generous benefactor. The conduct of this man has been viewed more leniently than that of his brother assassins, who are considered to have been swayed by feelings of envy and malignity. They evidently disregarded the circumstance, that the authority which Julius Cæsar had

received was used by him for the correction of abuses, and the suppression of those disorders to which Rome had so long been subject, and to which he alone was capable of applying a remedy. Notwithstanding the unlimited power conferred, the Roman people still loved him, and their emotions of grief and resentment at his violent death, led them to sacrifice one of his friends under the mistaken idea that he was concerned in the crime. It is a remarkable circumstance, that not one of the individuals connected with the murder of Julius Cæsar escaped a sudden and violent death, falling either by their own hands, or the sword of the executioner. To every one guided by humane feelings, the deed which destroyed this illustrious man will be looked upon not only as an act of wanton cruelty, but also as a great political blunder. It led to most unfortunate results; a second triumvirate was immediately formed, civil war commenced, proscriptions and massacres followed, many amiable and talented persons perished; until at length the Roman people found peace and happiness under the paternal and beneficent sway of Octavius, the heir and grand-nephew to Cæsar,¹ afterwards the Emperor Augustus. In

¹ We have lived to see the fall of a modern Cæsar, the late Emperor Napoleon; equal to the former as a warrior, a legislator, a statesman, and superior to him as an engineer officer. The author has traversed the late Emperor's roads over the Simplon and Cenis; the mind is dazzled by that boldness of genius which could so perfectly subdue the chaos of nature. Napoleon, however, was miserably defective in those beautiful feelings of innate kindness of heart, and magnanimous generosity, which so peculiarly characterized the glorious Roman; had he possessed but a tithe of them, he would have left a powerful throne to his posterity. Ennobled by such sentiments, they would have prevented his crushing the rational liberty of his people; they would have saved him from the meanness of establishing a system of espionage so horrible, that four persons could not converse together, without one of them being a government informer; they would not have permitted him to waste the precious blood of a gallant nation in selfish and atrocious schemes of family

addition, to the study of ancient history, the author of this work has had opportunities for observing the various systems of government, having travelled nearly over the continent of Europe twice; once through the United States of America; and been presented at several of the European courts; the conviction left upon his mind is, that the happiness and prosperity of a people do not depend upon the form of government, but on the talents, wisdom, and virtue of those who rule the destinies of mankind.

The Emperor and Dictator was succeeded as an historian by

Livy, who flourished 30 B. C.

This eminent man, the great writer of Roman history, was descended of a Consular family, and born at Padua, A. U. C. 695, and 58 B. C. It is to be regretted that few particulars of his private life are known to us, as he has been but slightly mentioned, either by the writers of his own country, who were his contemporaries, or by those who succeeded him; it remained for more modern times to do full justice to his extraordinary merit. Like many other literary men, his life appears to have been contemplative rather than active. At whatever period he came

aggrandizement; and when in exile, they would have spared the mighty Emperor, whom half a million of veteran warriors had looked up to as a demi-god, the littleness of passing the remaining years of his life in petty squabbles with the unfortunate man, who filled the painful office of his jailor. The magnanimity of the ancient Cæsar would not have permitted him to survive the retreat from Moscow, or the battle of Waterloo. James the Fifth, of Scotland, died broken-hearted, while a young man, for the loss of the battle at Solway-moss; but the Emperor had no heart to break. After acknowledging with all due praise the transcendent abilities of Napoleon, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion, than that he was a man devoid of principle, and not worthy the unbounded sacrifices made in his behalf by the high-spirited and generous nation of France.

to Rome, it is evident, that he commenced his history between the years 725 and 730; for, in the first book he tells us, that at the period he wrote, the temple of Janus had been twice shut since the reign of Numa; the first time in the consulship of Titus Manlius, on the termination of the first Punic war; and that "the happiness of seeing it closed a second time the gods granted to our own times, when, after the battle of Actium, the Emperor Cæsar Augustus established universal peace on land and sea." As the temple was not closed by Augustus till 725, this passage could not be written prior to that year, nor subsequently to 730, because in that season the temple of Janus was shut for the third time. Shortly after the arrival of Livy in Rome, he composed some dialogues on philosophical and political subjects, which he addressed to Augustus. These dialogues, now lost, procured for him the friendship of the Emperor, who gave him free access to the archives and records of the state, in order that he might consult them in the prosecution of his historical researches. He also allotted him apartments in his own palace; and carrying the principle of munificent generosity to perfection, the Emperor even condescended to afford explanations that might facilitate the correct understanding of documents important to our historian's investigation. Thus placed in the centre of one of the most elegant and literary courts that ever existed, where the sovereign himself was passionately attached to learning, and a profound scholar, he enjoyed ample opportunities of hearing from statesmen the motives for political events, and from commanders the details of warfare. The capital itself supplied him with those lofty ideas displayed in his work, while his constant intercourse with all that was refined, communicated to his style that taste and purity of expression, which formed the characteristic of his age.

It does not appear that Livy took advantage of the kind feelings of Augustus to aggrandize himself; we do not

hear that he accepted pecuniary favours from him, or even held any public office; and although Augustus appointed him preceptor to his grandson Claudius, afterwards emperor, it is uncertain whether he superintended his education: at our historian's suggestion, however, the young man undertook to write a history of Rome from the death of Julius Cæsar. Livy continued occupied for nearly twenty years in the composition of his history; and during this long period he resided principally at Rome, or in its vicinity, although he occasionally retired to Naples from the intrigues and cabals of the court, that he might arrange with leisure and tranquillity the materials he had collected in the capital. He also paid occasional visits to his native town, where he was received with distinguished honours. His great work was not finished till the year 745; he had previously, however, published parts of it from time to time, which he redde to Augustus and Mæcenas; by this means he early acquired a high reputation with his countrymen, who considered him as holding the first rank in the class of historians, like Virgil among the poets, and Cicero among the orators. How highly his writings were esteemed, and himself personally honoured and respected, may be gathered from the manner in which he is mentioned by the younger Pliny, who informs us, that "an inhabitant of the city of Cadiz was so struck with the illustrious character of Livy, that he travelled to Rome on purpose to see that great genius, and as soon as he had satisfied his curiosity returned home."

This historian is supposed to have been twice married; what family he left behind him is unknown. Quintilian mentions that he had a son, for whose instruction he drew up some observations, or a short treatise on rhetoric; in which he recommended that youth ought first to study Demosthenes and Cicero, afterwards such writers as most closely resembled these excellent orators. It is also believed that he left a daughter, married to Lucius Magius,

an orator, favourably spoken of by Seneca. Livy continued to reside in Rome till the death of Augustus, which took place in the year 765. On the accession of Tiberius, he returned to Padua, his native place, where he died A. D. 17, at seventy-five years of age.

The work of Livy comprehended the complete history of Rome, from the foundation of that city to the death of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, including a period of seven hundred and forty-three years, ending nine years before the birth of Jesus Christ, A. U. C. 744. It consisted of 140, or according to some, of 142 books; but only thirty-five of these have come down to us. A faint outline of all that are lost, with the exception of the hundred and thirty-seventh and eighth, has been preserved; supposed, although it is quite uncertain, to be the work of Lucius Florus, an author of a portion of Roman history. The perfect parts of Livy's history which we still possess are the first ten books, called a decade, for it appears, from his having prefixed separate prefatory introductions to each portion, that he had divided his work into distinct parts of ten books each. The first decade commences with the foundation of Rome, and rapidly traverses a period of four hundred and sixty years; from the arrival of Æneas in Italy till within a few years of the war with Pyrrhus. The second decade is lost, by which we are deprived of an account of the expedition of Pyrrhus, after his landing in Italy to succour the Tarentines; the discomfiture at length sustained by that warlike monarch; the subjugation of Magna Græcia by the Roman arms, and the first Punic war. The third decade, still extant, contains the second Punic war, or Carthaginian contest, in which Hannibal invaded Italy; the longest, as our author observes, and the most hazardous, the Romans had been engaged in, although they gained so many advantages in the course of it, and acquired so much military experience, that no nation was able afterwards to withstand

them. The fourth decade narrates the Macedonian war with Philip, and the Asiatic against Antiochus, which are related at such length, that these ten books comprise the short period of twenty-three years. Of the fifth decade, the first five books only have come down to us in an imperfect state; they continue the war in Macedon with Perseus, Philip's son, who gains several advantages over the Romans, but is at length subdued, and his kingdom reduced to the form of a province. They also contain an account of the corruption and misconduct of several Roman governors, in the administration of the conquered territories, with their punishment; and give an insight into the resolution of the Romans, for the destruction of Carthage by the third Punic war. Thus comprehending, in one unbroken relation, the history of the mighty struggle in which Hannibal and Scipio were the chief antagonists; the campaigns against Philip and his successor Perseus; and the contest with Antiochus, king of Syria.

When we consider the parts which have been saved, and those that are lost of the splendid history written by Livy, it will be admitted, that the most valuable portion has unfortunately perished. He has employed forty-five books in the history of about six centuries; but so numerous and interesting were the events which he had before him for selection, in the latter period of the commonwealth, that it took him above double that number to relate the occurrences of little more than an hundred and twenty years. From the able manner in which the former part of his history is written, we may form a just opinion of the merits of the latter, which fails us unhappily at a period when a rational curiosity is raised to the highest pitch. The author's account of the civil wars between Marius and Sylla, Pompey and Cæsar, might have been obtained from those who were eye-witnesses, and would have given scope for much interesting reflection and philosophical deduction. "I own,"

says Lord Bolingbroke, "I should be glad to exchange what we have of this history for what we have not."

To make choice of an important and interesting subject, is the principal task and duty of the historian; and the design formed by Livy was certainly a noble and splendid one. To record the fortunes of a people, who from a troop of rude shepherds and outlaws, accidentally assembled on the banks of the Tiber, became in the progress of time by their valour, frugality, virtue, discipline, and perseverance, the conquerors and masters of the civilized world. Among whom, far more frequently than among any other nation, characters appeared to attract astonishment and delight; illustrious men, whose great actions after a lapse of two thousand years, elevate and improve our minds. A people who reached the eminence, at length attained, through the most surprising vicissitudes of fortune, sometimes tottering on the brink of ruin, reduced almost to the lowest ebb of calamity; but rising again more vigorous and triumphant over the most imminent difficulty and danger. When we consider these circumstances, we must accord to Livy the palm of high honour due to the grandeur and importance of his choice. The manner in which he has treated this interesting subject in no degree derogates from it. In all the requisites of an historian, he is acknowledged to stand unrivalled among the Romans, possessing consummate judgment in the selection of facts, perspicuity of arrangement, sagacious reflection, and sound views of policy. In painting dispositions, talents, and manners, he is less prolix than Sallust, or Velleius Paterculus, generally leaving his reader to draw inferences regarding characters from the facts. He never indulges in virulent invective, or warm panegyrics; still he has given many beautiful portraits drawn from life, and contrives to interest us in the fate and fortunes of those for whom they are meant. The general character of the ancient Romans is also finely portrayed;

their probity, frugality, and reverence for the gods in their early days, are contrasted with the corruption, luxury, and irreligion of later and more modern times. None of the Roman historians estimated the qualifications of style more highly than Livy, who wrote for the chief purpose of erecting a noble monument to the glory of his country. Taking his facts on the assertion of the old annalists, he was exceedingly desirous to give an elegant turn to what was rude and unpolished in the language of preceding ages. His occasional use of obsolete phrases in the early part of his history is not objectionable, as it throws an air of antiquity and appropriate simplicity over it; while the accusation of diffuseness is obviated by the magnitude of his subject, requiring copiousness, which he never allows to degenerate into languor or tedium. One of the most important embellishments of historical composition is a graceful and perspicuous style; and he who would arrive at perfection in this high department of literature, must, after he has carefully procured and arranged his facts, and estimated his characters, be attentive to embody them in appropriate language.

We have seen that previously to the time of Livy, Sallust had converted history from a mere narrative of the measures of statesmen, and the exploits of warriors, into a vehicle of philosophical induction, and valuable reflection. This example having been set, there was no danger of history again relapsing into a mere record of antiquity; men would no longer read for the purpose of replenishing the memory with a dry detail of events, or for amusing the imagination; more important objects were now required by them, namely, information of a valuable nature, combined with moral and philosophical instruction. It cannot be denied, however, that numerous charges have been brought against Livy, as guilty of various errors, credulity, partiality, &c. Regarding the first, there is little doubt that this historian

contented himself too much with resting on the authority of the old annalists, and did not refer to original documents; nay, he did not even consult the best authors of his own country. The writers he chiefly copied from were Fabius Pictor, previously mentioned, Calpurnius Piso, Licinius Macer, Valerius Antias, and others; had he depended more on the history of Polybius, his own work would have been freer from blemishes. In military affairs he has made many blunders, owing to his inexperience in warlike operations. He did not visit, like other historians, the countries which had been the theatre of war, and consequently has committed frequent mistakes in geography; there is also much confusion with regard to the situation of towns, and the boundaries of districts. From his errors in chronology, he was evidently neither a very learned nor zealous antiquary. As to the charge of partiality, he undoubtedly wrote with a strong bias in favour of the Roman people; he palliates their crimes and vices, exaggerates their virtues and successes. These feelings, however, may be deduced from an ardent love of his country, and not from any meaner, or more interested principle. Touching his credulity, which consists in the relation of stories manifestly fabulous, we should remember, that he tells us he does not vouch for the truth of them; indeed, he distinctly says in one part,¹ "numerous prodigies were reported to have happened this year; and the more they were credited by simple and superstitious people, the more such stories multiplied." Such statements ought also to be referred to the circumstances of the times; the ancient world believed many absurdities, which we with our better information know are impossible. It has been asserted, that his speeches derogate from the truth of history, as it is not possible they were spoken upon the occasions alleged. That this may be the case with many of them is correct; but no one can sup-

¹ Book xxiv, chap. 10.

pose that our author intended here to impose; it was the prevalent taste of the ancient writers; he only meant to vary his style, to enliven and embellish matter, which, if continued in the same even and unvaried tone of narration, might become heavy and tedious; those speeches are always known to be the composition of the historian, the reader is not therefore deceived. The conduct of Livy in this respect, might be justified, if necessary, by that of Herodotus, Xenophon, Polybius, Sallust, Tacitus, and others, whose histories abound with speeches, which frequently give a more perfect idea of the character of the supposed speaker than could easily be done by a mere description. According to Asinius Pollio, an envious detractor of his literary contemporaries, there was a certain Patavinity in the style of Livy; by this he intended to convey an idea, that there was something in his expressions which bespoke a citizen of Padua, and that would not have appeared in the style of a native of Rome: what he exactly wished to be understood by his assertion is now uncertain, it is however a matter of no importance whatever. Taking a candid and impartial view of the merits of Livy as an historian, he appears fairly entitled, notwithstanding some errors and blemishes, to be considered the first historian of his age and nation.

Livy commences his work with a short preface, in which he says, "Whether, in tracing the rise and progress of the Roman history from the foundation of the city, I shall employ my time to good purpose, is a question which I cannot positively determine; nor, if I could, would I venture to pronounce an opinion, for I am aware that the matter is both remote in antiquity, and has been already treated by many others; the latest writers always supposing themselves capable either of throwing some new light on the subject, or by the superiority of their talents for composition, of excelling the more inelegant authors who pre-

ceded them. However that may be, I shall derive no small satisfaction from the reflection, that my best endeavours have been exerted in transmitting to posterity the achievements of the greatest people in the world ; and if, amidst such a multitude of writers, my name should not emerge from obscurity, I shall console myself by considering the distinguished reputation and eminent merit of those who stand before me in the pursuit of fame. As to the relations which have been handed down of events prior to the foundation of the city, or to those transactions that gave occasion to its being founded, and which bear the semblance rather of poetic fictions than authentic records of history, these I have no intention either to maintain or refute ; antiquity is always indulged, with the privilege of rendering the origin of cities more venerable, by intermixing divine with human agency. To the following considerations, I wish every one, seriously and earnestly, to apply his thoughts :—by what kind of men, and by what sort of conduct in peace and war, the empire has been acquired and extended ; then, as discipline gradually declined, let him follow in his thoughts the structure of ancient morals ; at first, as it were, leaning aside, then sinking farther and farther, then beginning to fall precipitate ; until he arrive at the present times, when our vices have become so enormous, that we can no longer endure either the burden of them, or the sharpness of the remedies necessary for their correction. This is the great advantage to be derived from the study of history, and which can make it answer any profitable or salutary purpose ; for being abundantly furnished with clear and distinct examples of every kind of conduct, we may select for ourselves, and for the state to which we belong, such as are worthy of imitation ; and carefully noting such as being dishonourable in their principles, are equally so in their effects, learn to avoid them.”

That the foundation of Livy's history was tradition, is

evident from the manner in which he commences it. He says, "It has been handed down to us as a certain fact, that the Greeks, when they took Troy, treated the Trojans with the utmost severity; with the exception, however, of two of them, Æneas and Antenor, towards whom they exercised none of the rights of conquest. This lenity they owed, partly to an old connection of hospitality, and partly to their having been from the first inclined to peace, and the restoration of Helen. These chiefs experienced afterwards great varieties of fortune. Antenor being joined by a multitude of the Henetians, who had been driven out of Paphlagonia in a civil war, and having lost their king Pylæmenes at Troy, were at a loss both for a settlement and a leader, came to the innermost bay of the Adriatic sea, and expelling the Euganeans, who then inhabited the tract between the Alps and the sea, settled the Trojans and Henetians in the possession of the country. The place where they first landed is called Troy, and from thence the Trojan canton also has its name. The nation in general were called Venetians. Æneas driven from home by the same calamity, but conducted by the fates to an establishment of more importance, came first to Macedonia; thence in search of a settlement he sailed to Sicily, and from that place proceeded with his fleet to the country of the Laurentians. Here also to the spot where they landed was given the name of Troy. Here the Trojans disembarked; and after wandering about for a length of time, as they had nothing left but their ships and arms, they began to make a prey of whatever they found in the country. On this, king Latinus, and the Aborigines, who were then in possession of those lands, assembled hastily from the city and country to repel the violence of the strangers. Of what followed, there are two different accounts. Some writers say, that Latinus being overcome in battle, contracted an alliance, and afterwards an affinity with Æneas; others, that when the armies were drawn up in order of battle, before the

signal was given, Latinus, advancing in front, invited the leader of the strangers to a conference; then inquired who they were, whence they came, and what had induced them to leave their home, and with what design they had landed on the Laurentian coast? That when he was informed, the leader was Æneas, the son of Anchises by Venus, and his followers Trojans, who had made their escape from the flames of their native city, and of their houses, and were in search of a settlement, and a place where they might build a town; being struck with admiration of that renowned people, and their chief; and of their spirit prepared alike for war, or peace; he gave him his right hand, and by this pledge assured him of his future friendship. A league was then entered into between the leaders, and a mutual salutation passed between the armies. Latinus entertained Æneas in his palace; and there, in the presence of his household gods, added a domestic alliance to their public one, giving him his daughter in marriage. This event fully confirmed the hopes of the Trojans, that here at least they were to find an end to their wanderings, in a fixed and permanent settlement. They built a town which Æneas called Lavinium. In a short time after, his wife bore him a son, who was named by his parents Ascanius."

After describing the achievements, or supposed achievements of Æneas, the reign of Ascanius in Alba, and of the other Sylvian kings, his successors, Livy thus mentions the birth of Romulus and Remus, with the foundation of Rome:—"The fates, I suppose, demanded the founding of this great city, and the establishment of an empire which is now in power next to the immortal gods. The vestal¹ being deflowered by force, brought forth twins, and declared that the father of her doubtful offspring was Mars, either because she thought so, or because she hoped to extenuate the guilt of her transgression by imputing it to the act of

¹ The vestal virgin, Rhea Sylvia, the daughter of king Numitor.

a deity. But neither gods nor men screened her, nor her children from the king's cruelty; the priestess was loaded with chains and cast into prison, and the children were ordered to be thrown into the river. It happened, however, that the Tiber overflowing its banks, formed itself into stagnant pools, in such a manner that the regular channel of the river was everywhere inaccessible, and those who carried the infants supposed they would be drowned in any water, however still; they therefore, to fulfil the orders of Amulius,¹ exposed the boys in the nearest pool, where now stands the Ruminal fig-tree, which, as it is said, was formerly called Romular: those places were at that time wild deserts."

Although our historian relates the story of the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, also that of Laurentia, (wife of Faustulus, one of the king's herdsmen, and the man who found the children,) being called Lupa, a she-wolf, from her profligate habits, he does not personally vouch for the truth of either account. On the building of Rome, he says:—"When Numitor was reinstated in the sovereignty of Alba, Romulus and Remus were seized with the desire of building a city in the place where they had been exposed and educated. There were great numbers of Albans and Latins who could be spared for the purpose, and these were joined by a multitude of shepherds; so that altogether they formed such a numerous body as gave grounds for hope, that Alba and Lavinium would be but small in comparison with the city which they were about to build. These views were interrupted by an evil hereditary in their family, ambition for power. Hence arose a shameful contest, though they had in the beginning rested their dispute on this amicable footing, that as they were twins, and consequently no title

¹ Amulius, the younger brother of Numitor, whom he had de-throned, whose male children he put to death, and compelled the daughter to become a vestal.

to precedence could be derived from priority of birth, the gods who were guardians of the place should decide by augury which of the two should give a name to the new city, and enjoy the government of it when built. Romulus chose the Palatine, Remus the Aventine mount, as their consecrated stands, to wait the auguries. We are told, that the first omen appeared to Remus, consisting of six vultures; and that after this had been proclaimed, twice that number showed themselves to Romulus; on which each was saluted king by his followers, the former claiming the kingdom on the ground of the priority of time, the latter on that of the number of birds. At their meeting an altercation ensued, then blows, and their passions being inflamed by the dispute, the matter proceeded at last to extremity, and murder was the consequence; Remus fell by a blow received in the tumult. There is another account, more generally received, that Remus, in derision of his brother, leaped over the new wall; and that Romulus, enraged thereat, slew him, uttering at the same time this imprecation, 'So perish every other, that shall hereafter leap over my wall.' By such means Romulus came into the sole possession of the government, and the city when built was called after his name; the first structures which he raised were on the Palatine hill, where he had been brought up."

The important and interesting interview between Hannibal and Scipio, afterwards styled Africanus, in order to try whether a personal explanation would lead to peace, and prevent the sanguinary battle of Zama, is thus described by Livy—"Their armed attendants having retired to an equal distance on both sides, the two greatest generals not only of the age in which they lived, but of all who have been recorded in any former time, here met, each attended by a single interpreter. On sight of one another, both stood silent for some time, impressed with mutual admira-

tion. At length Hannibal spoke—‘ Since it has been so ordered by fate, that I, who first commenced hostilities against the Roman people, and have so often been on the point of conquering them, should voluntarily come to sue for peace, I am glad it is to you, Scipio, rather than to any other, that I am to apply. On your part too, among the many illustrious events of your life, it ought not to be reckoned the least glorious, that Hannibal, to whom the gods granted victory over so many Roman generals, has yielded to you ; and that you put an end to this war, which was first rendered remarkable by the calamities of your country, before it was so by those of ours. Here also we may observe the sport of fortune in the disposal of events, that in the consulship of your father I took up arms ; he was the first Roman commander with whom I engaged in battle, and to his son I now come unarmed to solicit peace. It were indeed above all things to be wished, that the gods had so disposed the minds of our fathers, that your countrymen had been contented with the dominion of Italy, and ours with that of Africa ; for even, on your own side, Sicily and Sardinia are not an adequate compensation for the loss of so many fleets, armies, and excellent generals. But what is past, however it may be blamed, cannot be amended. Our attempts on the property of others, have ended by being obliged to fight in defence of our own ; and have not only brought war home to you in Italy, and to us in Africa, but were the occasion, that you beheld the arms and ensigns of an enemy almost on your walls and within your gates, and that we now from Carthage hear the noise of a Roman camp. The event, therefore, which we ought most earnestly to deprecate, and you to wish for above all things, now takes place ; you are negotiating a peace in the midst of a successful career. We who negotiate are the persons most interested in its establishment, and whose stipulations, whatever they may be, will certainly be ratified by our respective states. We want nothing but a disposition of mind

not averse to pacific counsels. For my part, so much instruction have I received from age, returning now an old man to my country, which I left a boy, and also from prosperity and adversity, that I wish to follow reason rather than fortune; but your early time of life, and uninterrupted flow of prosperity, both apt to inspire a degree of warmth ill-suited to peaceful plans, excite in my mind very serious apprehensions. He whom fortune has never deceived rarely considers the uncertainty of future events. What I was at Thrasymentus and Cannæ, that you are at present. Appointed to a command at an age scarcely fit for service, though your enterprises were of the boldest nature, you were never disappointed by fortune. In avenging the death of your father and uncle, you acquired from the disasters of your own family, a distinguished character for uncommon bravery and filial duty. You recovered Spain, which had been lost, and drove out of it four Carthaginian armies. On being elected consul, when others wanted spirit to defend Italy, you passed into Africa; and by destroying here two armies, taking and burning two camps, making a captive of Syphax, a powerful king, and by seizing on so many cities of his kingdom, and so many in our territories, you compelled me to relinquish the possession of Italy, which I had continued to hold for the sixteenth year. Perhaps your wishes tend rather to conquest than to peace. I know the spirit of you Romans, that it ever aims at grand, rather than useful objects. Fortune once shone on me with the same benign countenance; but if, along with prosperity, the gods would grant us a sound judgment, we should consider not only what had already happened, but what may happen hereafter. Although you should forget all other instances, I am a sufficient example of every kind of fortune: you formerly saw me pitching my camp between the Anio and your city, and on the point of scaling the walls of Rome; you now behold me here, beside the gates of my native town, which is

threatened with a siege, deprived of my two brothers, generals of consummate skill and valour, deprecating in behalf of my own country those calamities by which I formerly struck terror into yours. The most exalted state of fortune is ever the least to be relied on. A peace concluded at a juncture wherein your affairs flourish, and ours are distressed, reflects splendour and dignity on you who grant it; to us who request it, it is rather necessary than honourable. A certain peace is better and safer than a victory in expectation; the former is in your own disposal, the latter in that of the gods: risk not on the chance of an hour the happy successes of so many years. When you consider your own strength, recollect at the same time the power of fortune, and the chances of war, confined to neither party. Arms there will be on both sides, although the armies that contend will be but human: events less correspond to men's expectations in war than in any other case whatever. Even supposing that you should gain the victory in battle, the proportion of glory which you would thereby acquire, in addition to what you may now securely enjoy on granting peace, would be by no means commensurate to that which you must lose should any misfortune happen to you: the chance of a single hour may destroy at once, both the honours which you have attained, and those for which you hope. In the adjusting of peace every thing, Publius Scipio, will be in your own power; in the other case, you must abide by the fortune which the gods allot. Formerly Marcus Atilius, in this same land, would have been celebrated among the few most extraordinary examples of bravery and success, had he, when possessed of victory, granted peace at the request of our fathers; but by setting no bounds to his success, and laying no restraint on the extravagant sallies of fortune, in proportion to the height of glory which he attained, was his fall dishonourable. Certainly it is his right who grants peace, not his who sues for it, to prescribe the terms; yet, perhaps, we

might not be deemed altogether inadequate to the estimation of what degree of punishment should be inflicted upon us. We are ready to give up to you the possession of all those places on account of which the war was begun; Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, with all the islands that lie in any part of the sea between Africa and Italy. Let us, Carthaginians, confined within the shores of Africa, behold you, since such is the will of the gods, extending your sovereignty, both by sea and land, over foreign realms. I am far from denying, that you have some reason to distrust the faith of the Carthaginians, on account of the insincerity which they showed in their solicitation for peace, and their not waiting the issue of the treaty. Scipio, the security of a peace being observed, depends much on the character of those who sue for it. Your senate, I hear, refused to grant peace, partly from the consideration, that the persons employed in the embassy were not so respectable as they ought to be on such an occasion. Hannibal sues for peace, who would not sue for it unless he thought it expedient, and who, on account of the same expediency which induces him to solicit, will also maintain it; and because the war was begun by me, I took effectual care, until the gods themselves declared against me, that none should have reason to complain, so will I exert my utmost endeavours, that none shall be able to find fault with a peace procured by my influence."

To the above eloquent, temperate, and philosophical appeal, Livy puts into the mouth of Scipio this reply. "It was not unknown to me, Hannibal, that their expectation of your arrival was what urged the Carthaginians to violate the truce subsisting, and to break off the treaty of peace; nor do you dissemble it, as you take from the former conditions of peace every particular, except those which are for some time past in our own power. But as you seem desirous that your countrymen should understand how great

a burden they are relieved from by your means, so it is my business to endeavour, that they shall not now retract the concessions which they then agreed to make, and enjoy what they ceded as a reward of their perfidy. Unworthy of being allowed the same terms, you require additional advantages in consequence of your treachery. Neither were our fathers the aggressors in the war of Sicily, nor we in that of Spain; in the former case, the danger of their allies, the Mamertines; in the latter, the destruction of Saguntum, armed us in the cause of justice and of duty. That you were the aggressors you yourself acknowledge, and the gods bear witness, who directed the issue of the former war according to justice and equity, and are now directing, and will direct, the issue of the present in the same manner. As to myself, I am sensible of the instability of human affairs; I am mindful of the power of fortune; and I know that all our undertakings are subject to a thousand casualties. But as, on the one hand, if you were retiring from Italy of your own accord, and after embarking your troops were come to solicit peace, if in that case I treated you with disrespect, I should acknowledge that I behaved with pride and arrogance; so, on the other, now that I have dragged you into Africa, in spite of every effort which you made to prevent it, I am not bound to pay you any particular respect. If therefore, in addition to the terms on which it was intended to conclude a peace, and what they are you know, a full compensation be proposed for having seized our ships and stores during the existence of a truce, and for the insult offered to my ambassadors, I shall then have matter to lay before my council; but if this also seem severe, prepare for war, since you cannot endure to be at peace."

Although Livy wrote with a strong bias in favour of the Roman people, and always put the best construction on their conduct, still he has the candour faithfully to

insert the last words of Hannibal previously to his drinking poison; while he must have been aware, that the necessity which compelled the venerable and gallant warrior to such an act, painfully exhibited how lamentably the character and principles of the Romans had become deteriorated. He says—"Hannibal perceiving his house to be surrounded by a body of soldiers, and every avenue watched by the guards, called for the poison which he had long kept in readiness against such an event, and exclaimed, 'Let us release the Romans from their long anxiety, since they have not patience to wait for the death of an old man; Flaminius will gain no great or memorable victory over a man unarmed and betrayed. The alteration which has taken place in the character of the Roman people this day, affords abundant proof. Their fathers gave warning to Pyrrhus, their armed foe, then heading an army against them in Italy, to beware of poison; the present generation has sent an ambassador of consular rank to persuade Prusias villainously to murder his guest.' Then, imprecating misfortunes on the head of Prusias, and on his kingdom; and calling on the gods, the avengers of violated hospitality, he drank off the contents of the cup, and expired."

In the decline of Roman literature Livy was followed by

Tacitus, who flourished A. D. 96.

This celebrated historian was born about the year of Rome 809. The place of his nativity is nowhere mentioned; he was the son of a procurator, appointed by Nero to manage the imperial revenue, and govern one of the provinces in Belgic Gaul. It is to be regretted that few circumstances of his private life have come to us. The infancy of Tacitus, kept him untainted by the vices of Nero's court, as he was only twelve years of age when that emperor finished his career of guilt and folly. In the turbulent times which followed, he was still protected by his youth. Vespasian, however, restored public tranquillity,

revived the liberal arts, and gave encouragement to men of genius. In the first eight years of that prince's reign, our historian was at leisure to enlarge his mind, and cultivate the studies requisite to form an orator, and a Roman citizen. The ambition of our author, was to distinguish himself at the bar. In the sixth year of Vespasian, being then about eighteen, he attended the eminent men of his day, in their inquiry concerning the causes of corrupt eloquence. At the age of twenty, he had given such earnest of his future fame, that the famous Agricola¹ chose him for his son-in-law; thus distinguished he began the career of civil preferment. His genius attracted the notice of the emperor, who laid the foundation of his fortune. The death of that prince happened A. U. C. 832, but did not stop his advancement. Titus was the friend of virtue, and it appears, that Tacitus filled the office of quæstor during his brief reign, which qualified the individual holding it for a seat in the senate. Domitian succeeded to the imperial dignity; although suspicious and stern, he possessed an understanding quick and penetrating; even under his disastrous sway, our historian, partly owing to the influence of Agricola, rose in preferment; and we find him raised to the dignity of prætor, and a member of the Quindecemviral college at the secular games in the seventh year of that sovereign. Instead of giving offence, or provoking those in power, he was content only to display his eloquence as an advocate.

In the eighth of Domitian, Tacitus and his wife left Rome for upwards of four years. It would seem, that prudential considerations induced him to leave a city so full of strife, corruption, and violence. Soon after the death of his father-in-law, he returned to the capital, and witnessed that sad era, when Domitian ruled with arbi-

¹ He was eminent for his private and public virtues, held the consulship at Rome with Domitian, and was for a time governor of Britain. Agricola died in his fifty-sixth year, A. D. 93.

trary and cruel sway, until he fell under the daggers of his domestics, A. U. C. 849, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign, A. D. 96. The amiable Nerva succeeded to the empire, and reconciled two things till then supposed incompatible; civil liberty, and the prerogative of the prince. This emperor, in the year 850, was joint consul with Verginius Rufus, both venerable old men, and who exhibited to the people the august spectacle of distinguished virtue, advanced to posts of the highest dignity. Verginius died before the end of the year at the age of eighty-three, having seen in the course of his long life eleven emperors. Tacitus was created consul for the remainder of the year; and for that reason his name is not found in the list of consuls. He delivered, however, the funeral oration from the rostrum; and, in the words of Pliny, "the applause of such an orator was sufficient to crown the glory of a well-spent life." Nerva died on the 27th of January, 851, having about three months before adopted Trajan as his successor; and, in this short period, the critics have placed the publication of our author's life of Agricola. While employed on his great and important literary works, Tacitus did not for some time renounce his practice in the forum, the governors of provinces exhibited many a Verres,¹ and the plundered states had frequent cause of complaint. Such was the case of Marius Priscus, who had been proconsul of Africa, and stood impeached before the senate, at the suit of the province. Priscus presented a memorial praying to be tried by a commission of select judges. Tacitus and Pliny, by the special appointment of

¹ Who governed the province of Sicily as prætor, and was guilty of great oppression and rapine. His accusation before the Roman senate was conducted by Cicero, while Verres was defended by Hortensius; expecting to be found guilty, he left Rome without waiting for his sentence, and lived in great affluence. He was at length killed by the soldiers of Marc Antony, about twenty-six years after his voluntary exile.

the conscript fathers, were advocates on the part of the Africans. They felt it their duty to inform that august body, that the crimes alleged against Priscus were of too atrocious a nature to come within the cognizance of an inferior court. Fronto Catus stood up in his favour, and displayed all the force of pathetic eloquence. The wretches, however, to whom it was stated that Priscus had sold the lives of innocent men, were tried and convicted. The charges against the pro-consul were heard at an adjourned meeting, attended with every circumstance of pomp and dignity; the emperor, consul at the time, presiding in person. Pliny the younger spoke nearly five hours successively; Claudius Marcellinus, and Salvius Liberalis, ably exerted themselves for their client. Tacitus replied with much eloquence, and a certain dignity, which it is said, distinguished all his speeches. The senate deliberated three days, and sentenced Priscus to pay seven hundred thousand sescerces, the amount of bribes he had received, and to be banished Italy; adding a declaration, that Tacitus and Pliny had executed the trust reposed in them most satisfactorily.

The above cause was tried in the third year of Trajan's reign, and from that time Tacitus gave himself up entirely to the composition of his History of the Roman Emperors. He began from the accession of Galba, A. U. C. 822, and continued his narrative to the death of Domitian, 849, the whole comprising a period of seven-and-twenty years, full of important events and sudden revolutions. The summary view which he has given of those disastrous times presents a melancholy picture of civil commotion and public distress. Of this great work only four books are extant, with the beginning of the fifth. This history being completed, Tacitus went back to the reign of Tiberius; and in a second work, included a period of fifty-four years, from 767 to the death of Nero 821. The only part which has come down to us does not include two whole years. Pliny tells

us, that our author was visited by all the learned at Rome, in admiration of his genius: from such society he could not fail to obtain the best information. Pliny sent to him a full detail of all the circumstances attending the death of his uncle, the elder Pliny, who lost his life in the eruption of Mount Vesuvius; in order that an exact relation of that event might be transmitted to posterity. In doing so, he says, "If my uncle be mentioned in your immortal work, his name will live for ever in the records of fame." And in another communication, the same writer adds, "I presage that your history will be immortal. I ingenuously own, therefore, that I wish to find a place in it. As we are generally careful to have our portraits taken by the best artists, ought we not also to desire that our actions may be celebrated by an author of your distinguished character?" After the expression of such sentiments, it is almost needless to remark, that Tacitus and Pliny were on terms of the most intimate and confidential friendship.

The annals of Tacitus are the most complete and extensive of his works, although they have also suffered severely by the ravages of time and barbarism. Part of the fifth book, containing three years of Tiberius, the complete reign of Caligula, the first six of Claudius, and the two last of Nero, has perished in the wreck of literature. It was the intention of this great historian to employ his old age in the narration of the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, and to give the world an account of the interesting administration of Augustus, but he did not live to carry the design into execution; the time of his death is not mentioned, although it appears that it took place in the reign of the emperor Trajan. The compositions of this historian, according to the ancients, extended to thirty books, of which we have now left only sixteen of his annals, and four, with part of the fifth, of his history; also, a treatise on the manners of the Germans, which was published A.U.C. 851, and his life of

Agricola, about the same period. A dialogue on oratory has likewise been ascribed to him, but it seems altogether uncertain as to his being the author of it.

The style of Tacitus in his annals differs from that employed in his history; the latter is copious and diffuse, with dignity of expression and harmonious sentences; the former is precise, and every phrase a maxim. He has imitated Sallust, and adopted ancient phraseology, adding to brevity and new idioms the faults of the declaiming school; his expressions, though forcible, are frequently obscure. Nevertheless Tacitus has great merit, having successfully applied philosophy to history; he also exhibits much knowledge of the human heart, and penetrates with singular acuteness into the hidden springs of policy and motives of conduct. He puts forward, however, his own opinions and suspicions much more frequently than Livy; they are not interwoven with the skill of the latter in his history, but stand out, like formal aphorisms or maxims, from the body of the narrative. Livy also assigns more to chance, and the passions of individuals, (and therein he is correct) than Tacitus, who attributes all to deep-laid policy. Notwithstanding these blemishes, his selection of interesting facts, with the fidelity of his pictures, and the bold and brilliant colouring of nervous expression, have caused his annals to be denominated "the historical picture-gallery." Many of his delineations may be considered perfect. What a view he gives us of Tiberius, the close, disguised, gloomy, and systematic tyrant in the isle of Caprea,¹ the slave of his vices, and even amidst his pleasures tormented by an evil conscience. Again, of the amiable Germanicus, his noble speech to the seditious soldiers, and the pathetic scene of his death-bed in Syria. Even the licentious Messalina, represented in true colours, odious for her vices and crimes, at length, by the magic of his pencil, becoming an object of compassion.

¹ The modern Capri, in the bay of Naples.

When we behold her in the gardens of Lucullus, stretched on the ground, her mother weeping over her, and offering the painful advice, to anticipate the stroke of the executioner, and end her misery and disgrace by a voluntary death; when we see the daughter, with a feeble arm, aiming the poignard at her breast, yet irresolute, hesitating, unable to effect her purpose, and at last, with the assistance of the tribune, dying in the arms of her afflicted parent—we yield to the feelings of humanity, pity the unhappy victim, and forget her faults. It is by such talent that Tacitus has been able to animate the dry regularity of his annals, and to cast a charm over his work, which awakens our curiosity, and enchains attention.

Tacitus commences his annals by a few observations on the various changes of government, enumerated with his usual comprehensive brevity. Each forming an important era, which if fully developed would furnish a complete political history of Rome. He says, “The first form of government that prevailed at Rome was monarchy. The consulship was established by Lucius Junius Brutus. Dictators were created on sudden emergencies only. The jurisdiction of the decemvirs did not extend beyond two years; and the consular authority of the military tribunes soon expired. The dominion of Cinna ended in a short time; and that of Sylla was not of long duration. From Pompey and Crassus, the power of the state devolved to Julius Cæsar; and after the struggle with Lepidus and Antony, centered in Augustus,¹ who, under the mild and

¹ The successive dates of the above changes may not be uninteresting to the reader. The regal government continued under seven successive kings, and ended by the expulsion of Tarquin, about 240 years from the foundation of Rome.—The consulship and republican government, established by Brutus A. U. C. 245, B. C. 508.—The supreme authority of dictator instituted A. U. C. 253.—The decemvirs appointed to frame a body of laws, the code was finished

well-known title of "Prince of the Senate,"¹ took upon him the management of the commonwealth, enfeebled by an exhausting series of civil wars. The memorable transactions of the old republic, however, as well in her day of adversity, as in the time of success, have been recorded by writers of splendid genius."

His pathetic description of the massacre of Varus, and his army, by the Germans, is as follows:—"The Romans were now at a small distance from the forest of Teutoburgium, where the bones of Varus, and his legions, were said to be still unburied. Touched by this affecting account, Germanicus resolved to pay the last sad office to the relics of that unfortunate commander, and his soldiers. The same tender sentiment diffused itself through the army; some felt for their relations, others for friends, and all lamented the disasters of war, and the wretched lot of mankind. Cæcina was sent forward to explore the woods, where the waters were out to throw up bridges; and by heaping loads of earth on the swampy soil to secure a firm footing. The army marched through a gloomy solitude. The place presented an awful spectacle; and the memory of so tragical an event increased the horror of the scene. The first camp of Varus appeared in view. The extent of the ground, and the three different inclosures for the eagles

within two years; their magistracy ended A.U.C. 305.—The military tribunes, invested with the authority of consuls, exercised their functions till A.U.C. 310. In the following year the consular government was restored.—The usurpation of Cinna A.U.C. 667, B.C. 86. The domination of Sylla A.U.C. 672.—The first triumvirate of Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar, A.U.C. 699.—Cæsar elected perpetual dictator A.U.C. 706.—The second triumvirate of Antony, Lepidus, and Augustus, A.U.C. 711, B.C. 42.

¹ Prince of the senate. The title given to the senator, whose name stood first on the censor's rolls; when the consul called upon the fathers for their opinions, he began with the *Princeps Senatus*.

still seen, left no doubt that the whole was the work of the three legions. Farther on were traced the ruins of a rampart, and the hollow of a ditch nearly filled up, supposed to be the spot where the few who escaped the general massacre made their last effort, and perished in the attempt. The plains around were white with bones, in some places thinly scattered, in others lying in heaps, as the men happened to fall in flight, or in a body resisting to the last. Fragments of javelins, and the limbs of horses lay scattered about the field. Human skulls were seen upon the trunks of trees. In the adjacent woods stood the savage altars, where the tribunes, and principal centurions, were offered up a sacrifice, with barbarous rites. Some of the soldiers who survived that dreadful day, and afterwards broke their chains, related circumstantially several particulars. Here the commanders of the legions were put to the sword; on that spot our eagles were seized. There Varus received his first wound; and this is the place where he gave himself the mortal stab, and died by his own hand. Yonder mound was the tribunal from which Arminius harangued his countrymen; here he fixed his gibbets; there he dug the funeral trenches; and in that quarter he offered every mark of scorn and insult to the Roman colours. Six years had now elapsed since the overthrow of Varus; and now, on the same spot, the Roman army collected the bones of their slaughtered countrymen. Whether they were burying the remains of strangers, or of their own friends, no man knew. All, however, considered themselves as performing the last obsequies to their kindred, and their brother soldiers. While employed in this pious office, their hearts were torn with contending passions; by turns oppressed with grief, and burning for vengeance. A monument to the memory of the dead was raised with turf. Germanicus with his own hand laid the first sod; discharging at once the tribute due to the legions, and sympathizing with the rest of the army."

In the description of the decisive victory gained by Publius Ostorius, commander of the Roman forces in Britain, Tacitus does full justice to the gallant and magnanimous, although unfortunate, Caractacus, whose wife and daughter had been taken prisoner, while his brother surrendered at discretion. He tells us, "Caractacus fled for protection to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes.¹" But adversity has no friends; by that princess he was loaded with irons, and delivered up to the conqueror. He had waged war with the Romans during nine years. His fame was not confined to his native land; it had passed into the provinces, and had spread all over Italy. Curiosity was eager to behold the heroic chieftain, who, for such a length of time, made head against a great and powerful empire. Even at Rome the name of Caractacus was in much celebrity. The emperor, willing to magnify the glory of the conquest, bestowed the highest praise on the bravery of the vanquished monarch. He assembled the people to behold a spectacle worthy of their view. In the field before the camp the prætorian bands were drawn up under arms. The followers of the British king walked in procession. The military accoutrements, harness, and rich collars which he had gained in various battles were displayed. The wife of Caractacus, his daughter, and his brother followed next; he himself closed the melancholy train. The rest of the prisoners, struck with terror, descended to abject supplications. Caractacus alone stood superior to misfortune. With a countenance unaltered, not a symptom of fear appearing, no sorrow or condescension, he behaved with dignity even in ruin. Being placed before the emperor's tribunal, he delivered himself in the following manner—"If to the nobility of my birth, and the splendour of exalted station, I had united the virtues of moderation, Rome had beheld me, not in captivity, but

¹ The people inhabiting Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, were called Brigantes. According to Camden, Caractacus reigned in the county of Cardigan.

a royal visitor, and a friend. The alliance of a prince, descended from an illustrious line of ancestors, and whose sway extended over many states, would not have been unworthy of your choice. A reverse of fortune is now the lot of Caractacus. The event to you is glorious, to me humiliating. I had arms, men, and horses; I had wealth in abundance; can you wonder that I was unwilling to lose them? The ambition of Rome aspires to universal dominion; and must mankind in consequence bend their neck to the yoke? I stood at bay for years; had I acted otherwise, where, on your part, had been the glory of conquest, and where, on mine, the honour of a brave resistance? I am now in your power: if you are bent on vengeance, execute your purpose; the sanguinary scene will soon be over, and the name of Caractacus sink into oblivion. Preserve my life, and I shall be to late posterity a monument of Roman clemency.' Claudius granted him a free pardon, and the same to his wife, daughter, and brother."

In the opening part of his history, Tacitus tells us, that "the foundation of his fortune was laid by Vespasian, advanced by Titus, and carried higher by Domitian." He says, "The fact should not be dissembled, for the historian who enters on his office with a profession of integrity must not desert the cause of truth. No character should be touched with partiality, none disfigured by passion or resentment. Of Nerva and Trajan, if my health continue, it is my design to compose the history; it is a favourite plan, rich in materials, and safe. I have reserved it for the evening of my days; a glorious period, in which, through the felicity of the times, a man may think with freedom, and also publish his thoughts to the world." But this great man died before he could carry his intention into effect.

After this talented historian many others followed of inferior note, who might be considered possessed of merit had he not existed, viz., Q. Curtius, Suetonius, Florus,

Justin,¹ &c. From the period of Tacitus, however, history declined; indeed there was little worthy, on a comparative view, of being recorded. The historians of Rome, previously to the reign of Augustus, present a far higher amount of talent than can be found in Greece before the Persian war; and afterwards, Sallust, Cæsar, and Livy may fairly be compared with Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon; but when we add Tacitus, it will be acknowledged that the Romans were much superior to the Greeks; and the nation, in which reason, political philosophy, government, and jurisprudence had made the most progress, was also that in which the science of history came to be more ably cultivated and better understood.

CHAPTER X.

PROGRESS OF ELOQUENCE AMONG THE ROMANS.

CELEBRATED ORATORS — THE GRACCHI, MARCUS ANTONY, LICINIUS CRASSUS, SULPICIUS, COTTA, HORTENSIUS, AND CICERO.

The Romans possessed the quality of eloquence at an early period; it was carried by them to some degree of eminence before they were aware that precepts were requisite to improve and perfect the art. Although we have not specimens to show precisely the nature of their oratory, either during the monarchy, or in the commencement of the republic, still the form of government, the necessities arising out of it, and the relations which the different parties in the state held towards each other, rendered the power of persuasion an indispensable accomplishment. Of the arts, next to war, eloquence was of the most importance, since if the former led to the conquest of foreign states, the latter opened to individuals a path to dominion over the minds of their fellow-citizens. Without this talent,

¹ The minor historians of Rome will be again referred to in a subsequent part of this work.

wisdom itself, in the opinion of Cicero, could be of little avail for the advantage or glory of the commonwealth. The means of persuasion among the Romans, however, would be more rational and less imaginative than among the Greeks, consisting rather in arguments than impulses, their chief appeal being to the understanding, as they were by no means of so sensitive and warm a temperament as the last-mentioned people. The speeches recorded of the great personages of Rome, if not authentic, were composed in the spirit of the times, and are more characterised by sense and truth than by fancy or splendour, and rather dignified than impassioned, as belonging to a proud and reasoning people.

Although a Roman statesman could scarcely be devoid of the ability necessary to address his countrymen, it was not till five centuries after the building of the city that oratory came to be considered as a science. Carneades, who introduced the love of philosophy, was also the first who taught that eloquence had its rules. About A.U.C. 666, schools of rhetoric were established at Rome, eloquent men began to expound, and the art became more elevated. The orations of Cato, the censor, were remarkable for rude but masculine eloquence; in the decline of his life a richer and more copious manner of speaking began to prevail. S. Galba, by the fire and animation of his delivery, eclipsed Cato and his contemporaries, being the first who exhibited the distinguishing qualifications of an able orator, by embellishing his matter, amplifying, and employing topics or illustrations appropriate to his subject. He was followed by Marcus Emilius Lepidus, consul in 617; it appears that he was the earliest who, in imitation of the Greeks, introduced the graces of style, and gave harmony to his periods. From Cicero, we learn, that all the eminent men of this period were more or less distinguished by their eloquence, Emilius Paulus, Scipio Nasica, Mutius Scævola, &c.; indeed there

is scarcely an orator mentioned, even of inferior note, who did not rise to important offices in the state.

Until the age of the Gracchi, oratory had been an instrument of government in the power of the senate, who employed every means to retain its exclusive use as an engine for diverting the tide of popular feeling, that it might not beat too strongly on their own order and authority. These talented men, Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, who flourished 140 and 125 B.C., not only levelled the embankment, but turned the flood against the senate itself. The interests of the people, previously to their epoch, had not been espoused by individuals endowed with so much eloquence; indeed the extraordinary power exercised by both brothers over the people, is an undoubted proof of their high abilities. While passing through Tuscany, on his route to Numantia, Tiberius found the country almost devoid of freemen; this gave rise to his project for reviving the Agrarian law, to correct the evils arising from the immense landed possessions acquired by the rich, and to limit them to the number of acres specified in the ancient enactments.¹ Plutarch has preserved a specimen of his language when pleading for the poor, preparatory to the passing of his act. He says, "The wild beasts of Italy have their dens to retire to, places of refuge and repose; but the brave men who shed their blood in the cause of their country, have nothing left but fresh air and sunshine. Without

¹ After the expulsion of the kings, an Agrarian law was promulgated, by which only seven acres were allowed to each free citizen, and for some time rigidly enforced. Another act, passed at a later period by C. L. Stolo the tribune, limited the extreme number to five hundred acres, and one hundred head of large cattle, or five hundred of small; but there being no head of the state with power to enforce an observance of this law, it was also disregarded, leading to numerous extremes of inordinate wealth on the one hand, and melancholy destitution on the other.

houses, or settled habitations, they wander from place to place, with their wives and children; and their commanders but mock them, when, at the head of their armies, they exhort the soldiers to fight for their sepulchres and altars. For among such numbers, not one Roman is to be found who has an altar which belonged to his ancestors, or a tomb in which their ashes repose. The private soldiers fight and die to increase the wealth and luxury of the great; and they are styled rulers of the world, while they have not a foot of ground which they can call their own." It is not difficult to imagine the irritation created in the minds of a brave and stern people by such language. After the death of the elder Gracchus, his younger brother, Caius, took up the same cause, and met with a similar fate; both of them were assassinated by the connivance, or rather at the instigation of the senate. Such conduct on the part of that body, weakens the regret which may be felt at its decimations in later years; men who were capable of setting so bad an example can hardly claim much sympathy, when the practice of it was applied to themselves.

The art of eloquence originally cultivated for the object of political advancement, began now to be looked upon by the Roman youth as an elegant accomplishment. It is unnecessary to mention the numerous orators referred to by Cicero, in his extensive catalogue, especially as their speeches are lost; we will only briefly allude to a few of the most celebrated names, whom he commemorates as having advanced Roman eloquence to an equality with that of Greece. Marcus Antony, the grandfather of the celebrated triumvir, had the greatest forensic practice of his time. He possessed a ready memory, with the happy art of introducing every thing where it could be placed with the best effect. His frankness of manner precluded the suspicion of artifice, while he carried along with him the sympathy of the judges and audience. The language he employed was more solid

and judicious than elegant, although his gesture was appropriate and suitable to the sentiments. He was undeservedly put to death by the vindictive Marius. Licinius Crassus, the rival of Antony, commenced his oratorical career at the age of nineteen; inferior to the former in action and gesture, he was greatly his superior in purity of language, and elegance of expression; being also master of an inexhaustible fund of argument and illustration. He acquired great celebrity by his accusation of C. Carbo, and heightened his fame by his defence of the vestal virgin Licinia, accused of incontinence, and acquitted. The most splendid of all his forensic efforts, however, was the immediate cause of his death, which took place A.U.C. 662. The consul Philippus had stated to the people in one of their assemblies, that it would be necessary to resort to other advice, since, with such a senate as then existed, he could no longer manage the affairs of the state. A full house being immediately summoned, Crassus exerted the utmost effort of his genius and strength, in arraigning with glowing eloquence the conduct of the consul, who, instead of acting as the guardian of the senate, endeavoured to deprive its members of respect and dignity: owing to his excessive exertion, he brought on an attack of pleurisy, of which he died after a week's illness.

Sulpicius and Cotta, born about the year 630, were contemporaries with Antony and Crassus, and had risen to considerable eminence before the assassination of the former, or the death of the latter. It appears, that Sulpicius lived for some years respected and admired; but on the first breaking out of the dissensions between Marius and Sylla, being then a tribune of the people, he espoused the cause of the former; and, according to Plutarch, was guilty of great cruelty, imprudence, and avarice. During the time that the fortune of Marius prospered, Sulpicius directed the public affairs in his capacity of tribune. He decreed to that individual the command in the Mithridatic war; attacked the

consuls while holding an assembly of the people, and deposed one of them. Marius being at length expelled by the ascendancy of Sylla, Sulpicius was betrayed by one of his slaves, and immediately seized and executed. From Cicero, who had reached the age of nineteen, and heard him speak often in the forum, we learn, that Sulpicius was the most lofty and tragic orator at Rome. His attitudes and deportment were dignified; he possessed a powerful and sonorous voice, rapid elocution, and animated action. Cotta was unable from constitutional weakness to exert oratorical vehemence; in his manner, quiet and soft, he spoke with sobriety and good taste, often leading the judges to the same conclusion to which Sulpicius impelled them. According to Cicero, no two persons could be more unlike each other than these orators. Cotta, in a delicate and elegant manner, set forth his subject in well-chosen expressions; seeing with clearness what he had to prove to the court, directing the whole strength of his reasoning to that point, regardless of other arguments. Sulpicius, on the other hand, endued with irresistible energy, vehemence, and dignity of action, accompanied with weight and variety of expression, seemed fitted by nature to become eminent in eloquence. The fame, however, of preceding orators was now to be eclipsed at Rome, by

Hortensius, who flourished 85 B. C.

This celebrated orator was born A. U. C. 640, and made his first appearance at the bar when only nineteen years of age. The earliest case in which he appeared was a responsible one for so young and inexperienced a pleader, being an accusation laid by the Roman province in Africa against its governors for oppression and rapacity. It was heard before Scævola and Crassus, as judges; the former an able lawyer, the latter one of the most accomplished speakers of his age, and the young orator was so fortunate as to obtain their approbation. In 663 the social war broke out

which greatly interrupted the business of the forum. Hortensius served in this contest as a volunteer for one year, and in the second as a military tribune. On the re-establishment of peace in Italy in 666, returning to Rome, and resuming his forensic avocations, he found himself without a rival, owing to the death or exile of the preceding orators, Crassus, Antony, Sulpicius, and Cotta; the last mentioned, after his return from banishment in 670, was obliged to succumb to the superior brilliancy of his younger competitor. Hortensius continued for a space of thirteen years the acknowledged head of the Roman bar, till Cicero returned from his quæstorship in Sicily, A.U.C. 679, when his talents as an orator were first displayed in perfection and maturity. During the above period, Hortensius being engaged on one side or other, in every cause of importance, soon amassed an immense fortune, and lived with a magnificence corresponding to his wealth. Besides his mansion in the capital, which was splendidly furnished, he possessed sumptuous villas at Tusculum, Bauli, and Laurentum, where he was in the habit of giving elegant and expensive entertainments. He indulged a passion for pictures, plantations, and fish-ponds; the latter constructed at vast expense, and so formed, that the tide flowed into them. Notwithstanding his profusion, it is stated, that his heir found ten thousand casks of wine in his cellar at his death, which happened 49 B. C.

By his eloquence Hortensius obtained not only prodigious riches, but also the highest official honours of the state; he was ædile A. U. C. 679, prætor in 682, and consul two years afterwards. Such wealth and dignity, with the want of competition, made him relax from that assiduity by which they had been acquired, till the fame of Cicero, and the glory of his consulship, stimulated him to renew his exertions, although he did not recover his former reputation. Through the influence of Hortensius, Cicero was chosen

one of the college of Augurs, which high honour so gratified his vanity, that he not only retained an agreeable recollection of it, but has handed down the merits of his friend with great and injudicious praise. Although the speeches of Hortensius are lost, his style of oratory, we are informed, was of that showy description, called Asiatic, because it flourished in the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, and was more flowery than the mode at Athens, being full of brilliant thoughts and sparkling expressions. This glowing style of rhetoric, though deficient in solidity, was not unsuitable in a young orator, particularly when adorned with beautiful periods; it consequently met with great applause. But as he advanced in life, such exuberance of ornament was not corrected; and this glitter of phraseology, which in early years had excited ridicule among the graver senators, became totally inconsistent with his advanced age and consular dignity. His speeches suffered still more by being transferred to writing; much of his excellence consisting in action and delivery, they appeared greatly inferior to what was expected from the fame he had enjoyed; accordingly after his death he retained little of that admiration which he possessed during life. From Macrobius, we learn that he used affected gestures; in pleading, his hands were constantly in motion; and his action was so excessive, that he received the appellation of *Dionysia*, the name of a celebrated dancing-girl, while it was a common expression, that it could not be determined whether people went to hear, or to see him. He was also finically careful of his dress, to a point of absurdity; not content with studied attention and neatness, he had even the folds of his gown arranged with the greatest care, by help of knots artfully concealed by the plies of his robe. Whatever credit may be due to the story of his instituting an action for damages against a person who had jostled him and ruffled his toga, the anecdote helps to confirm the account of his weakness in this matter. This failing in his oratorical capacity, may be

overlooked in the magnitude of the stain on his moral character, that of having used his vast wealth to corrupt the judges of the causes in which he was employed; whatever might be the excellence of the Roman laws, few things could be more vicious than the procedure under which they were administered. The family of Hortensius turned out most unfortunately. Quintus, the son, was profligate and scandalously vile. Cicero mentions, in one of his letters, the ruffianly conduct of the younger Hortensius at Laodicea. Although treated kindly by Julius Cæsar, and made pro-consul of Macedonia, after the murder of that illustrious man, he joined the assassins, when Caius Antony, brother to the triumvir, having fallen into his hands, he killed him by the order of Brutus; Quintus, however, was taken prisoner at the battle of Philippi, carried by Mark Antony to the tomb of his brother, and executed upon it. Of the orator's two grandchildren, the sons left by Quintus, Q. Hortensius Corbio, and M. Hortensius Hortalus, the elder, was a monster of debauchery, and is mentioned as a striking example by Valerius Maximus. The younger received from the generosity of the emperor Augustus, a handsome pecuniary grant to enable him to marry; he and his children, however, fell into want during the succeeding reign. Tacitus, in the second book of his Annals, has ably delineated the affecting and humiliating scene in which Hortensius Hortalus appeared, with his four children, to beg relief from the senate in memory of his father; the historian has also recorded the pathetic address which he made to that body, with the stern answer returned by the gloomy Tiberius. Abject poverty now closed over the family of a man, who, not many years before, had possessed the estates and vast wealth which would have endowed a powerful sovereign. Hortensius was succeeded by

Cicero, who flourished 65 B. C.

This most eminent orator was born at Arpinum A. U. C. 647. He was the son of a Roman knight, and said to be

lineally descended from the ancient Sabine kings. It appears, that in his youth he distinguished himself in literary contests with his companions, and had the advantages of studying under several eminent masters; among whom he particularly mentions Plotius a Greek, Phædrus an Epicurean philosopher, and Archias the poet. On finishing his boyish studies, Cicero was placed under Philo of Larissa, a philosopher held in high esteem at Rome, both for his learning and manners, and from whom he received instructions in rhetoric. In the eighteenth year of his age, he began to study the civil law under Mutius Scævola, the most learned jurisconsult of his time; and in the forum, he daily enjoyed the advantage of hearing Hortensius, the greatest orator who had yet appeared at Rome. After a short interval, in which he engaged in military expeditions, first with Sylla, and then with Pompey, he joyfully returned to his studies, and put himself under the tuition of Diodotus the Stoic, chiefly to obtain a knowledge in dialectics, a more restricted style of argument; but not without an assiduous attention to other branches, in which this learned philosopher was well qualified to instruct him, and by which he acquired a general and discursive acquaintance with philosophy and literature, together with a felicity of communicating the fruits of his learning in a manner copious and attractive. About the age of twenty-two, he translated into Latin Xenophon's *Oeconomics*, and several books of Plato; a specimen of his version of the *Timæus* of that great man is preserved in his works. Before the appearance of Cicero, however, at the Roman bar, it may not be uninteresting to make a few observations on the state of the Roman law, the judicial procedure, and practice of the forum.

The first collection of laws at Rome, under the kings, was called the *Legis Regiæ*, and principally related to sacred subjects, divisions of the different orders in the state, privileges of the people, and regulations of police. About

the time of the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, at the desire of the senate, Sextus Papyrius, a patrician, collected and recorded in one volume all the laws of the monarchs who had reigned previously to the time of Tarquinius. This collection, sometimes called the Papyrian code, did not obtain that permanence or respect which was expected to follow its reduction into writing. Many of the *Leges Regiæ*, being the result of momentary emergency, and inapplicable to future circumstances, were ill adapted to the temper of a republican government; while the laws promulgated shortly after the expulsion of the kings, related more to constitutional modifications than to the civil rights of the citizens. Owing to the constant dissensions and jealousies between the patricians and plebeians, and each party denying the right of the other to enact laws, there occurred a kind of legal interregnum at Rome, there being no fixed rules to which all classes were equally subject. At length Terentius Arsa brought forward a law known by the name of Terentilla, that the people should elect ten persons to compose and arrange a body of laws for the administration of public affairs, and to fix the civil rights of individuals. The senate, who maintained, however, that the dispensation of justice was wholly vested in the supreme magistrates, contrived for five years to delay the execution of this important and necessary measure. At the end of which time it was agreed, as a preparatory step, that three ambassadors should be sent to Greece, and the Greek towns of Italy, to select such enactments as they might consider best adapted for the Roman people. The deputies, who departed on this embassy in the year of the city 302, were occupied about a year and a half in their mission; and on their return, the office of consul was suppressed, and ten magistrates created called decemvirs, among whom the ambassadors were included. To them was confided the care of digesting the mass of laws, which had been brought from Greece; this task they accomplished, with the aid of

Hermodorus, of Ephesus, who acted as their interpreter. In about eight months from the time of their creation, the decemvirs had prepared ten books of laws, which being engraved on ivory or wooden tablets, were presented to the people, and received the sanction of the senate and the Comitia Centuriata. Two supplementary tables were shortly added, in consequence of some omissions pointed out by the decemvirs. In these tables the laws were briefly expressed. The first eight related to matters of private right, the ninth to those of the public, and the tenth to religious matters, establishing equitable rules for all ranks of society, without distinction. In the two additional tables, however, some distinctions were introduced, and exclusive privileges conferred on the patricians. Those who possessed the twelve tables complete, like Cicero and Tacitus, and were the most competent to judge how far they were adapted to the circumstances and habits of the people, highly commend the wisdom of these laws. There is no doubt, that those of the *Leges Regiæ* still in observance among the Romans were incorporated into the Decemviral code. The more severe enactments were scarcely ever put in force, or soon became obsolete, till the Roman laws at length became remarkable for the mildness of their punishments, the penalties of scourging or death being rarely inflicted on a free citizen. At the sack of the city by the Gauls, the twelve tables were destroyed; but such exertions were made to obtain copies, or to make them out from recollection, that they were almost completely restored.

A system of jurisprudence extracted from the legislative wisdom of Greece and Italy, it might be expected, would restore in the commonwealth that order and security unattainable by the uncertainty of former laws, with the contentions of the patricians and plebeians. But the event did not justify such an expectation. The ambition and licentious passions of the chief decemvir, Appius Claudius, produced

a revolution which overthrew the government, before his colleagues had settled with precision how their enactments were to be put in practice, or enforced. It thus became necessary to introduce certain formulæ, called *Leges Actiones*, that the mode of procedure should not continue arbitrary and uncertain. These were prepared by Claudius Cæcus, about the middle of the fifth century of Rome; but in a miserable and monopolizing spirit they were kept private for some time between the pontiffs and patricians, that the people should not have the benefit of them without their being employed, until Cn. Flavius, a secretary of Claudius, transcribed and communicated them to the people; and from this circumstance, they received the name of *Jus Civile Flavianum*. The enraged patricians devised new legal forms, which they kept secret more carefully than the former. In 553, however, Sextus Ælius Catus divulged them again, consequently these last precepts were called *Jus Ælium*. This was the completion of the decemviral laws, which continued to be employed as the form of process during the remaining period of the existence of the commonwealth. Although the twelve tables formed the foundation of the Roman law, they were modified and enlarged by such new enactments as the circumstances of the state required. The greater number of new laws were introduced in consequence of the increase of territory and luxury, with the conflicting interests of the various orders of the state. The laws, properly so called, were first proposed by a superior magistrate, as the dictator, consul, or prætor, with consent of the senate; and then passed by the whole body of the people, patricians and plebeians, assembled in the *Comitia Centuriata*, and afterwards bore the name of the proposer. The *Plebiscita* were enacted by the plebeians in the *Comitia Tribunata*, apart from the patricians, and independent of the sanction of the senate, at the proposal of one of their tribunes, instead of the consul, or other superior magistrate. The higher class generally re-

sisted these decrees, as they were chiefly directed against the authority of the senate, and the privileges of the upper order; but by the *Lex Horatio*, the same authority was given to them as to laws properly so termed, thenceforth they only differed in name, and the manner in which they were passed. A *Senatus-consultum* was an ordinance of the senate on those matters regarding which they possessed exclusive authority, such as matters of state, the distribution of provinces, and the application of the public money.

The civil law till the age of Augustus was unconnected, without a systematic or authoritative treatise on the subject during the whole period of the commonwealth. The changes in the language of the Romans rendered the style of the twelve tables less familiar to each succeeding generation, and the uncertain passages were imperfectly explained by legal antiquarians. It was the custom also for each successive prætor to publish an edict, stating the manner in which justice was to be administered by him, the rules he intended to follow in the decision of doubtful cases, and the degree of relief his equity would afford from the rigour of ancient statutes. This constant alteration of forms, and occasionally in the principles of law, introduced a confusion which persons engrossed with other occupations could not unravel. The obscurity of old laws, and fluctuating jurisdiction of the prætors, gave rise to the class of men called *jurisconsults*, whose profession it was to explain legal difficulties, and endeavour to reconcile statutory contradictions. It is evident, however, that the civil law was neither much studied, nor known by the orators of the senate and forum. According to Cicero, in his treatise *De Oratore*, S. Galba, the first speaker of his day, was ignorant of law, inexperienced in civil rights, and not well acquainted with the institutions of his ancestors. In his *Brutus*, he tells us the same of Antony and Sulpicius, the two greatest orators of their age; and in the same dialogue, *De Oratore*,

Scaevola is made to say, "The present age is entirely ignorant of the laws of the twelve tables, except you, Crassus, who, led by curiosity, rather than from its being any province connected with eloquence, studied civil law under me." It thus appears that Crassus and Scaevola, the latter more of a jurisconsult or adviser than a speaker, were the exceptions to the orators of the age of Cicero, instructed in law, and who considered it as part of their duty to render themselves masters either of the general principles of jurisprudence, or the municipal institutions of the state. According to Antony, there were men who brought every thing to the orator ready prepared, presenting him with a brief, or memorial, not only on matters of fact, but also on the decrees of the senate, the precedents, and the opinions of the jurisconsults. There were also solicitors, or professors of civil law, whom the orators consulted on any point regarding which they wished to be instructed previously to their appearance in the forum. Under such circumstances, the address of the orator was more frequently an appeal to the equity,¹ common sense, or feelings of the judge, than to the strict laws of his country. It is evident, where a pleader addresses himself to the equity of his judges, he has far more occasion and scope to display his eloquence, than when he is obliged to draw his arguments from statutes and precedents; in the former case, many circumstances may be taken in, personal considerations regarded, favour and inclination conciliated. Accordingly Cicero, when speaking in his own person, while he says in the first book *De Oratore*, that the science of law and civil rights should not be neglected, does not seem to consider it essential to the orator of the forum, although he parti-

¹ It was this fact which gave rise to the remark so frequently made in the present day, "that the ancients had not much law, but plenty of justice; while the moderns have plenty of law, but not much justice."

cularly enlarges on the necessity of elegance of language, the erudition of a scholar, ready and popular wit, with a power of moving the passions. The jests recorded in the second book *De Oratore*, by no means what we should consider excellent, may be regarded as the finest flowers of wit at the Roman bar; sometimes they were directed against the opposite party, his counsel, or witnesses, and rarely failed of effect, if sufficiently impudent. That such were the arts to which the Roman orators chiefly trusted for success, is apparent from the remains of their discourses, and what is mentioned of the mode of pleading in the rhetorical treatises of Cicero.

The forms of procedure, the description of the courts for trying causes, and the nature of the proceedings, gave to Roman oratory a splendour and brilliance which cannot adorn the efforts of rhetoric under a more sober and exact dispensation of justice. The civil and criminal causes were tried before the prætor, or judges appointed by him. He sat in the forum, the name given to a noble street,¹ situated between the capitol and Mount Palatine, and there administered justice. His court was an open one, not only in our sense of the term, but exposed to the air on all sides, being merely covered above. At first, there were only two prætors to whom the cognizance of civil suits was committed: the one tried the causes of citizens according to the Roman laws, the other those of allies and strangers by the principles of natural equity. As judicial business multiplied, however, the number of prætors was increased to six, and they were also called upon to decide in criminal matters. The prætor was the chief judge in all questions that did not fall under the immediate cognizance of the senate, or the assemblies of the people; every action came in the first instance before him, but he only decided civil suits of importance; if the cause were not of sufficient magnitude, he

The modern Via Sacra.

appointed one or more persons to judge it, either chosen from the people at large, or from a list of *judices selecti*. If but one person were appointed, he was called a *judex*, or *arbiter*, and determined only such causes as were easy or of little importance; he was bound to proceed according to a certain form prescribed to him by the *prætor*. When more persons than one were nominated by that officer, they were called *recuperatores*, and they decided points of law or equity requiring much deliberation. Certain cases, those relating to testaments and successions, were commonly remitted to the *centumviri*, one hundred and five persons chosen equally from the thirty-five tribes, three from each. This body resembled our jury in their functions: the *prætor*, on sending to them a case, made up the issue on which they were to decide; for instance, if it be proved that the house in question is in possession of *Terentius*, give sentence against *Lucretius*, unless he produce a testament from which it shall appear to belong to him. It was to these judges that the orators pleaded the causes of their clients: they began with a brief exposition of the nature of the points in dispute, witnesses were afterwards examined, and the arguments on the case enforced in a formal harangue; a verdict was then given according to the opinion of a majority of the judges. The *centumviri* continued to act for a whole year, but the other *judices* only sat till the particular cause was determined for which they had been appointed. The *prætor* had the power of reversing the decisions, if it appeared that any fraud or important error had been committed; if neither were alleged, he charged himself with the duty of seeing the sentence carried into execution. When the life or liberty of a Roman citizen became in question, the trial was held in the *comitia centuriata*; the authority of the people, however, was occasionally delegated to inquisitors, as they were styled, in points previously fixed by law. In the beginning of the seventh century from the foundation of the city, when the *prætor* came to

preside in such important trials, he was assisted by a counsel of select judges or jurymen, originally chosen from the senate only; but in Cicero's time, by a law of Cotta, they were taken from the senators, knights, and tribunes of the treasury. The number nominated by the prætor, and appointed for the year, varied from three to six hundred, and from them a smaller number was chosen by lot for each case. As any Roman citizen might accuse another before the prætor, it was not uncommon for the young patricians to undertake the prosecution of an obnoxious magistrate, in order to recommend themselves to the notice or favour of their countrymen. After the courts of justice, the grand theatre for the display of eloquence was the Comitia, or assemblies of the people, when met to deliberate on the proposal for passing a new law, or abrogating an old one. A law was seldom offered for consideration without some orator being found to dissuade its adoption; and as in their courts of justice the feelings of the judges were addressed, so the favourers or opposers of a law did not confine themselves to the expediency of a measure, but took advantage of the prejudices of their hearers, confirming their errors, indulging their caprices, and fomenting their dislikes. Here, more particularly, the many were to be courted by the few, and here was created that excitement considered so necessary a stimulant to popular eloquence. Lastly, the deliberations of the senate, the great council of the nation, afforded the noblest opportunities for the exertions of eloquence. This august body¹ consisted of individuals who had reached a certain age, who were possessed of considerable property, supposed to be of good reputation, and most

¹ The number of the senate varied at different eras; in the time of Cicero the members were about as numerous as in the British House of Commons, although it required a larger number to form a quorum. Sometimes there were nearly five hundred members present, but two hundred at particular seasons of the year was considered a full house.

of whom had passed through the annual magistracies of the city; such were the ostensible qualifications, however they may have been neglected in practice. The senate was consulted upon matters regarding the administration or safety of the commonwealth; the power of making peace or war, though it ultimately lay with the people, was usually left by them to the senate, which always reserved to itself the direction and superintendence of the religion of the country, distribution of the public revenue, levying or disbanding of troops, fixing the service on which they should be employed, nomination of governors for the provinces, rewards assigned to successful generals for their victories, and the guardianship of the state in times of civil dissension. These were the important subjects of debate in the senate, discussed at fixed periods of the year, when its members assembled, or were summoned on any emergency. They always met in a temple, or other consecrated place, to give solemnity to their proceedings, as under the immediate eye of the gods. The consul, who presided, opened the business of the day by an exposition of the question to be considered by the assembly, and then asked the opinion of the members in the order of rank and seniority; although no senator was allowed to deliver his opinion till it came to his turn, he had then a right to speak as long as he thought proper. Freedom of debate was exercised in its greatest latitude: it appears, that the conscript fathers greatly enjoyed this liberty or license, as they were in the habit of making speeches on every subject but the one under consideration, even when called together to deliberate on particular questions; thus we find Cicero delivering his seventh philippic against Antony, when the senate had met to deliberate on the coinage, and Appian way. The resolution of the majority was expressed in the form of a decree, which, though not properly a law, was entitled to the same reverence; and where the interests of the state did not require concealment, every thing was done to give to the proceedings of

the senate the utmost publicity. From the above description, the reader will be more perfectly aware of the position which Cicero held towards his countrymen.

Having prepared himself by a course of careful and laborious study, this great orator made his first appearance at the Roman bar when twenty-six years of age, A. U. C. 672, and pleaded in the cause of Quintus, the brother-in-law of Roscius, the celebrated comedian. It was a question of civil right, whether his client had forfeited his recognizances, and whether his opponent, Nævius, had obtained legal possession of his effects by an edict of the prætor in consequence of the presumed forfeiture. The oration was delivered before four judges, and with Hortensius as his opponent; even here, where it was a mere point of legal discussion, we find Cicero indulging in much invective,¹

¹ This sad error in the conduct of Cicero was the cause of serious trouble to him during life, and as we will shortly see, led to his premature and violent death. It is also one of those faults which appears to have been carefully copied from the ancients by the moderns. In our own courts at the present day, particularly in those of a lower order, the abusive and ungentlemanly language so frequently made use of, is a great and crying evil. That mankind should bend the knee to a Cæsar, or a Napoleon, from admiration of their transcendent talents, is neither extraordinary nor very unreasonable; but that we in this country should tamely submit to the iniquitous and galling tyranny of having our feelings lacerated, and our characters traduced, by men hired for a few shillings more or less, to defend any cause, however disreputable, and by individuals often sprung from the very dregs of society, is indeed strange, when contrasted with the everlasting and senseless chatter about our liberty and freedom. The courts of law in a Christian country ought to be sacred to justice, humanity, and propriety; not arenas for chicanery, calumny, and insolence. A wise government would turn their attention to this matter, and remedy it; that our feelings of respect for the law, and its professors, may not be superseded by those of hatred and contempt.

calculated to raise the indignation of the judges against his opponents, and many pathetic supplications interspersed with highly coloured pictures of the distress of his client, in order to excite their sympathy in his behalf. In the following year Cicero undertook the defence of Roscius of Ameria, which was the first public or criminal trial in which he appeared. During the proscriptions of Sylla, the father of Roscius was assassinated one evening at Rome, returning home from supper; and under the pretence that he was on the list of proscribed persons, his estate was purchased at a price merely nominal by Chrysogonus, a favourite slave of Sylla's, to whom he had given freedom, and permitted to buy the property of Roscius as a forfeiture. Part of the land thus acquired was made over by the emancipated slave to the Roscii, a branch of the family, but mortal enemies to the individual who had so unfortunately lost his life. The new proprietors, to secure themselves in possession, hired Erucius, an informer and prosecutor by profession, to charge young Roscius with the murder of his father, and they suborned witnesses to convict him of the parricide. The oration delivered by Cicero on behalf of the accused, although too much in the florid Asiatic style of Hortensius, exhibited talents of a very high order, and gave an earnest of what he would become in after years. He exculpates his client by enlarging on the utter improbability of his committing a crime of such enormity, when his amiable life and blameless character were taken in consideration. He introduces several interesting episodes; and by unfolding the conduct of the accusing party, and showing that they were the gainers by the transaction instead of his client, he with consummate art not only vindicates the young Roscius, but causes his pleading to appear rather an artful accusation of the two Roscii and Chrysogonus. This declamation was received with shouts of applause by the audience, it obtained the acquittal of Roscius, and made the orator highly popular.

Shortly after the decision of the above cause, Cicero, under the plea of recruiting his health, impaired by laborious forensic exertion, although probably in dread of Sylla, then in the plenitude of his power, withdrew to Athens. Here he attended Antiochus, the Ascalonite; but not approving of his doctrines, which differed from those of the middle academy, he became a hearer of Posidonius, the Rhodian. By frequenting the schools of these and other preceptors, he acquired that taste for philosophy, which after his return to Rome, amidst the business of the forum and the senate, he never forgot; and tending so delightfully to vary his hours of elegant retirement when in the country. The two years which he now passed in Greece and Asia Minor improved his style of speaking, corrected his pronunciation, and taught him the art of commanding his voice, and giving to it more compass and variety. After his return to Rome, the first cause he pleaded was that of Roscius, the eminent comedian; it was a question of civil rights, and of no particular importance. The orations which he delivered during the five following years, are unfortunately lost. At the close of that period, however, and when Cicero was in the thirty-seventh year of his age, a splendid opportunity was afforded for the display of his eloquence in the prosecution against Verres,¹ the prætor of Sicily, justly charged by the inhabitants of that island, with numerous flagrant acts of cruelty, rapine, and injustice, during his triennial government of the country. Of the six orations against this vicious governor, only one was actually delivered, Verres having anticipated the result, by going into voluntary banishment; the other five, forming the series of harangues which Cicero intended to deliver after the proofs had been adduced, were subsequently published in the same form as if the accused had stood his trial, and made a regular defence. The commencement of the second oration naturally

¹ Refer to the note at the foot of page 345 of this volume.

appears to us in a ridiculous light, when we read, that although a report had been spread of Verres abandoning his defence, there he sat braving his accusers, with characteristic impudence; the exclamations at his effrontery, adjuration of the judges, and threatening of his adversaries, lose their effect, when we remember, that before the opportunity occurred for uttering these things, the individual against whom they were to be spoken had gone into exile. It appears strange that Cicero did not see the propriety of altering such an overcharged exordium which he never had occasion to deliver. The first of these orations appears to us entirely foreign to the subject, and would not be permitted in our system of criminal law; it was intended to give a greater degree of probability to the accusation, by exposing former excesses and malversions committed by Verres in early life, while he was quæstor of Gaul, and prætor at Rome. The orations of Cicero and his contemporaries, like those of Lysias, Isocrates, and Demosthenes, furnish the same valuable information on the political and moral condition of the Roman people, which the speeches of the last-mentioned do on those of the Greeks. The Romans appear to have been extreme in good and evil. What a system of rapacity, licentiousness, and cruelty, do the orations of Cicero open to our view, in the conduct of those magistrates exalted abroad to the temptation of almost regal power, however their moderation in early days may have called for the applause of the world: exhausted in fortune by imprudence and excess of luxury, they entered on their government seemingly for the sole purpose of enriching themselves with the spoils of the provinces entrusted to their administration, and to plunder the inhabitants by every species of exaction.

The orations still extant delivered by Cicero, may be divided into various classes; viz.—Five against Verres; three in objection to a revival of the Agrarian law; four against Catiline and his associate conspirators; twenty-

four other speeches in criminal accusations, civil suits, and questions arising on disputed points of law; and fourteen philippics against Antony. The influence which the eloquence of Cicero gave him with the Roman people, may be imagined from his success in opposing the Agrarian law; this project had been the darling of the Roman tribes for three hundred years; nevertheless he encountered the tribunes on their own ground, and by alternately flattering the people, and ridiculing the proposer of the law, he so contrived to change their feelings, that they rejected the proposition with as much eagerness as they had received it. The detection and suppression of the dreadful conspiracy of Catiline, form the most splendid feature in the political life of Cicero, and the orations he pronounced against the chief conspirators are regarded as the noblest monuments of his eloquence. On this important occasion, he was not defending the rights and prerogatives of a municipal town, or province, but exerting himself to prevent the ruin of the city and government. Cicero having discovered Catiline's design, which was to leave Rome, and join that part of the army devoted to him, while his confederates murdered the senators and fired the capital, summoned the senate to meet him in the temple of Jupiter Stator, for the purpose of laying before it that part of the plot which had come to light. Catiline, however, having unexpectedly appeared in the midst of the assembly, his audacity drew from the consular orator an abrupt invective. The disclosure to the criminal himself of his secret purposes, their fearful nature threatening the life of every one present; the long course of his iniquities and treason blazoned forth by the fire of incensed and overpowering eloquence, concluding with the adjuration to flee from Rome, and deliver it from such a deadly pestilence, must have been wonderfully calculated to excite astonishment and admiration. Cicero has been unthinkingly blamed for permitting Catiline to escape; but it should be remembered that only a

part of the plot was discovered, bands of conspirators existed in the city; and if a premature movement had taken place, the probability is, that Catiline might even then have succeeded. In the last oration on this subject, regarding the punishment to be inflicted on the discovered parties in custody, Cicero does not precisely declare for a particular punishment, although he was evidently inclined to the most severe from the manner in which he dwells on their enormity of guilt, aggravating their crimes with much art. His sentiments prevailed, and the conspirators were strangled under his superintendence.

The oration of Cicero, in defence of Cælius, is one of the most entertaining of those which have come down to us, from the wit and humour with which he treats the irregularities of Clodia, her intimacy with Cælius, and the gaieties and licentiousness of youth. This oration was also a favourite of Mr. Fox, who considered that our orator was never so happy as when he had an opportunity to exhibit a mixture of philosophy and pleasantry. Cælius was a young man of some ability and accomplishments, intrusted to the care of Cicero on his first introduction to the forum; having imprudently engaged in an intrigue with Clodia, the sister of Clodius, and afterwards deserted her, she in revenge accused him of an attempt to poison her, and of having borrowed money from her to procure the assassination of Dio, the Alexandrian ambassador. In this, as in other prosecutions of the time, a number of charges having no relation whatever to the principal one, were brought forward, to give the chief accusation additional weight. Cicero had, therefore, not only to defend his client against the main charge, he had also to remove the suspicions arising from the general levity of his conduct. It is curious to observe the ingenuity with which the strenuous advocate of virtue and sobriety of conduct palliates on this occasion the libertinism of youth. He en-

deavours to do away with that part of it which related to his client's intercourse with Clodia, by enlarging on the dissolute character of this woman, whom he treats with no ceremony whatever; and for the better vindication of Cælius, represents those who withstand such seductions as supernaturally endowed. Cicero commences the defence of his client thus: "Should it happen that in this court there is a man unacquainted with our laws, our judicature, and our form of proceeding, he must be at a loss to account for the aggravating circumstances that render this cause of so heinous a nature, as to be the only one tried in this festal season¹ amidst public rejoicings, and a general intermission of all business in the forum. He would conclude, that the nature of the crime charged against the accused is such, that were it overlooked this state could not exist. The same person, when he will hear that there is a law for trying on any day seditious profligate citizens, who in arms shall beset the senate, and assault the magistrates, without disapproving of the law, may still insist upon his being informed of the crime that is trying. When he will be told, that what is depending has nothing in it villainous, nothing audacious, nothing riotous in its nature; but that a youth distinguished by genius, by application, and by popularity, is here accused by a man whose father² has been for some time, and now is under a prosecution at the instance of this youth; but that he is attacked through the interest of a prostitute, he will not indeed blame the piety of Atratinus, but will imagine that some restraint ought to

¹ This cause was tried before Cneius Domitius Calvinus the prætor, who called to his assistance a certain number of senators, or knights, to assist him in the trial. The Romans never heard any causes on their holidays till A. U. C. 676, and afterwards such only as were connected with treason against the state; thus Cælius was accused of being the friend of Catiline. This oration was delivered 697, and in the 51st of Cicero's age.

² L. Atratinus for bribery, on a second trial.

be laid on female wickedness." Again, "As to the charge against the chastity of my client, urged by his accusers not upon facts, but assertions and calumnies, never can it affect M. Cælius so sensibly as to make him regret that he was not deformed by nature; for these have ever been the common place calumnies propagated against all who, in their youth, had a handsome person, and graceful appearance. But it is one thing to rail, another to accuse. An accusation requires a charge, and this charge must fix the crime, it must mark the person, be proved by arguments, and supported by evidence." Railing has no end but insult; if urged with petulance, it becomes abuse; if with humour, wit. There is, however, a short answer to all this charge; for so long as the age of Cælius might infer a presumption of guilt, it was protected, firstly by his own modesty, and then by the care and education bestowed on him by his father when he gave him the manly gown.¹ Here let me say a little of myself; my own character I submit to you; but this I will mention, that he was immediately brought to me by his father. No one saw this same Marcus Cælius in that bloom of life, but in company with his father or me; or in the chaste house of Marcus Crassus, where he was trained in the most honourable arts. As to the objection of my client's familiarity with Catiline, that is a suspicion by no means applicable to him. While he was but a youth, you know that Catiline and myself stood for the consulship; but if ever Cælius kept his company, or if ever he left mine, though many excellent young men were zealous for that infamous and flagitious fellow, then let Cælius be thought to have been too intimate with him."

Turning from the immediate defence of his client, Cicero

¹ At the age of sixteen the Romans made their sons change their style of apparel; they no longer dressed as boys, but put on the toga virilis, or manly gown, which was done with much ceremony, as they were then of age to serve in the army.

with great art, in a beautiful apostrophe, appeals to the ancestors of Clodia. It is easy to imagine what an effect the contrast would have on the feelings of the audience, between a woman of infamous life and that of her ancestors, individuals of high reputation for purity and excellence, and whose statues were in the very court where our orator was pleading. He says, "Let some of her own family start up; there is the blind old gentleman, (pointing to one of the statues,) the most proper that can be, for his being incapable of seeing her will save him much grief. Such would be his language, 'Woman! what hast thou to do with Cælius? what with a youth? what with a stranger? Why were you so intimate with him as to lend him money? or why such a foe as to dread his poison? Hast thou not seen thy father? Hast thou not heard that thy uncle, thy grandfather, thy great-grandfather, and his father were consuls? Art thou insensible that thou wert married to Quintus Metellus, a brave patriot, and a worthy patriot, who no sooner left the threshold of his own house, than he rose superior to nearly all his countrymen in merit, in glory, and in dignity? When thou, thyself of noble descent, by him were married into an illustrious family, why was Cælius so much thy intimate? was he thy cousin, thy relation, or the bosom friend of thy husband? He was none of these! What could be the reason but desire, hood-winked desire? If thou art unmoved at seeing the manly images of our family, ought not my descendant, ought not the example of Quinta Clodia to have invited thee into a competition for the female glory of domestic virtue? ought not Clodia, that vestal virgin, who, embracing her triumphant father, prevented his being torn from his car by a spiteful tribune of the people? Why art thou tainted more with the vices of a brother, than affected by the virtues of a father and a grandfather, which have devolved from me upon the females as well as the males of my family? Did I tear my country from the

thoughts of a peace with Pyrrhus, and shalt thou daily enter into the intrigues of shameful amours? Did I bring in the water that supplies this city, that thou might use it to thy incestuous purposes? Did I make a road that it might serve as a promenade to thee, and thy train of gallants?" Again: "If a woman should set her doors open to gratify the passions of mankind, openly profess herself of the order of wantons, and drive a trade in making entertainments for mere strangers; if she shall practise this in the city, and in her gardens; in short, if she behaved in such a manner, as that by her gesture, nay, by her dress and equipage, and not only by her eyes sparkling, or her tongue tipt with immodesty, but by hugs, by kisses on the water, in the pleasure-boat, and at the banquet, she appears not practised only, but insolent in depravity; if, I say, a young gentleman shall be along with such a woman, give me leave to ask you, Herennius,¹ whether you would consider him as an adulterer or as a gallant, as designing to storm her virtue, or to satiate her passion?"

The orator was well aware, that the infamy of Clodia's character was not a clearance of that of his young friend and client; it is, therefore, not a little amusing to observe how Cicero, the general advocate of virtue and sobriety, excuses Cælius, not indeed by impeaching propriety of conduct, but by representing those who are remarkable for it as supernaturally endowed. "If there be a man gifted with such fortitude of soul, with such dispositions to virtue and chastity, as to reject all pleasures, as to finish his career of life with the toils of the body, and the pursuits of the mind; an individual, who has no taste for repose, none for relaxation, none for the pleasures of his equals, none for banquets; who is persuaded, that in life there ought to be no other end proposed that does not unite the great with

¹ Herennius, one of the accusers.

the graceful; I shall freely own, that he is endowed with certain supernatural qualifications. Such, as I take it, were the Camilli, the Fabricii, the Curii, and all those heroes who, from a narrow foundation, reared this nation to such glory and greatness. But virtues such as theirs are no longer to be found in the lives, nay, scarcely in the writings of mankind. Even the very scrolls which contain this severity of former ages are antiquated, not only with us, who have professed such an institution and manner of living more by our actions than our words, but even with the Greeks, those learned philosophers, who, when they could not practise what was honest and great in life, were still at liberty to recommend it in their speeches and writings. Therefore, if by chance you find a man whose eye despises the beauty of order, who indulges no sensation of smell, touch, or taste, and whose ears shut out all harmony; I, and a few others perhaps, may think that the gods have blessed such a person, but many more will be of opinion that they have cursed him. Let some allowances, then, be made for youth; let it enjoy more liberty; let not pleasure be debarred in every instance; let not reason, uninfluenced and unbiassed by passion, always take place. To pleasure, permit reason sometimes to give way; provided, when that is the case, it is regulated by decency and moderation. Let the young man be tender of his own chastity; let him not injure that of another. Let him not dissipate his fortune; let him not be eaten up by mortgages. Let him neither invade another man's house, nor his reputation; let him not cast slander at the modest, defilement on the uncorrupted, nor infamy on the worthy. Let him terrify none by violence, nor overreach any by treachery; let him be free from premeditated guilt. There have been many great and illustrious citizens in our own days, in the days of our fathers and forefathers, in whom, when the ebullitions of youthful desire have subsided, the most excellent virtues have in more advanced life sprung up. I need not descend

to particulars, you yourselves may recollect them; for I am unwilling, while I speak of any brave and honourable man, to join the mention of his smallest failing to the praise of his greatest perfection. Did I think myself at freedom to do this, I might produce instances of many great and accomplished persons, and yet touch on the youthful licentiousness of some, on the extravagant luxuries and expensive pleasures of others; vices which afterwards being effaced by many virtues, might be excused as the craving appetite of youth." Cælius was acquitted, and afterwards made prætor during the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar; but disturbing the peace of the city by some new laws, he was deposed by the senate, and obliged to leave Rome. He was afterwards killed, in endeavouring to gain over Cæsar's garrison at Thurii to declare for Pompey.

In the successive offices of quæstor, ædile, and prætor, Cicero acquitted himself with high reputation. In the consulship he obtained great and deserved honour for his uncompromising and successful opposition to the machinations of Catiline and his party, having received from Q. Catulus, considered the head of the senate, at a full meeting, the noble title of *Pater patriæ*, "Father of his country." The popularity which our orator had acquired during his consulship, exposed him to the envy of his rivals; his unsuccessful attempt to bring Clodius to justice, brought upon him the resentment of that daring and seditious profligate. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the senate to protect him, the affair terminated in his banishment from Rome. Leaving Italy, he passed over into Greece, and visited his friend Plancius at Thessalonica, who afforded him an hospitable asylum. His absence from the capital was much lamented, while the Grecian cities vied with each other in offering him tokens of respect. Nothing, however, could alleviate the dejection he laboured under during the period

he lay under the sentence of banishment, he continued inconsolable, till after an interval of sixteen months the Clodian faction was suppressed by Pompey, and by the unanimous consent of the senate and people he was recalled.

The resentment of Cicero having been excited against Piso, and his colleague Gabinius, for their ungenerous conduct towards him at the time of his expulsion from Rome, through the Clodian faction, after his recall he prevailed on the senate, by his oration *De Provinciis Consularibus*, to deprive the former of his government of Macedonia, and the latter that of Syria. Piso, at one of his first attendances in the senate, complained of the treatment he had received; and, in his attack on the orator, ridiculed his poetry. Cicero answered him in a bitter invective, holding up his life and conduct to detestation, lavishing on him an amount of personal abuse, extraordinary for its coarseness, when we consider that it was delivered in the senate, and directed against an individual of high rank and consequence. Cicero does not scruple to apply to him the opprobrious¹ names of *Bellua*, *furia*, *carnifex*, *furcifer*, “brute, fury, rogue, villain,” and other epithets of a similar description; in his reply to Piso thus addressing him, “Dost thou not see, thou brute; and canst thou not perceive the complaints which men have against thy impudence? No one complains that an obscure Syrian from among a herd of slaves is made consul; for his dusty complexion, his shaggy skin, and decayed teeth

¹ While perusing this oration, the author has felt amused at the idea of the possibility that such a scene could occur in our House of Peers. If one nobleman, feeling himself aggrieved at the conduct of another, should complain to the House, and his opponent in reply were to burst out in such a torrent of coarse personalities, ending with the peroration of styling him, as Cicero did Piso, a sneaking, dirty, nasty scoundrel, forgetful of his father's memory, and scarcely remembering his mother's; the shock would be so astounding as in all probability to end in a degree of ludicrous amazement.

would not suffer him to impose upon us; but here mankind have been misled, by those eyes, (pointing with the hand,) those brows, that forehead, and by that look which speaks the silent language of the mind. By these he abused and imposed upon such as did not know him. Only a few of us are acquainted with thy grovelling vices, the dulness of thy capacity, and the feeble stupidity of thy tongue. Never was thy voice heard in the forum; never did you venture to give your opinion; never were you illustrious, or so much as known for any worthy action either at home or abroad. You stole into honours by the mistake of mankind, by the commendation of the sooty statues of your ancestors, which you resemble in nothing but their complexion. And shall he boast even to me, that he rose to all his preferments in the government without repulse? Well may I do myself that noble justice, to declare that the people of Rome raised me, though a new man, to all their honours. When you were made quæstor, even they who had not seen you, made a compliment of that honour to your name. You were made ædile, but it was a Piso, and not that fellow who was then dignified by the Roman people. The prætorship too was conferred upon your ancestors, for they were known though dead, but you were quite unknown though alive. When the people of Rome returned me one of their first quæstors, the elder ædile, and preceding prætor, by their unanimous suffrages, they bestowed those honours upon my person,¹ and not upon my family—upon my manners, and not upon my forefathers—upon the virtues they had approved, and not upon the nobility they had heard of.” Cicero concludes thus:—“I wished to see what I have seen, to find you abject, contemptible, despicable in the eyes of others, desperate and abandoned in your own, staring ghastly round you, starting at every breath of noise, dis-

¹ Cicero very rarely lost an opportunity to speak highly in his own praise, and of which the above is a specimen.

trustful of your circumstances, without a voice, without freedom, without authority, without any marks of consular dignity, in horror, in agony, and fawning upon all you meet. Therefore, if what you dread should be your fate, I shall not be displeased at what may happen; but if vengeance should be slow, yet will I enjoy your present infamy. With equal pleasure should I see you trembling at the dread of an impeachment, as I would to see you at the bar of justice; nor could I more rejoice to see defilement staining your dress,¹ than to perceive infamy attending your person."

When the flames of civil dissension between Pompey and Cæsar burst forth, Cicero used his utmost influence with both parties to bring them to terms of accommodation. Finding every attempt unsuccessful, he remained long in anxious deliberation, whether he should follow the former in what he considered an honourable but ruined cause; or should consult his safety by joining the rising fortune of the latter. Had self-interest altogether preponderated, he would have listened to the kind counsel offered him by Cæsar, that if on account of his advancing years, he felt averse to a military life, it would be better to retire into some quiet part of Greece, and there pass the remainder of his days in tranquillity. He could not, however, bring his mind to contemplate a total absence from Rome and its associations, he therefore determined to join Pompey; but feeling himself slighted by the latter, who appeared to place no great value on his powers of service, he repented of his resolution, and after the memorable battle of Pharsalia, instead of following the advice of Cato, to accept the charge of the armament which lay at Dyrrachium, he met Cæsar on his return from Asia, was kindly

¹ Alluding to the mean dirty habits worn by the Romans when under impeachment.

received by him, and accepted his friendship. As a mark of good feeling and esteem towards Cicero, Cæsar even pardoned and treated with humanity different parties against whom he was much incensed, and felt inclined to punish. After our orator's return to Rome, he retired in a great measure from public affairs, resolving to devote his time to the science of philosophy, and in studying the writings of the ancients in his valuable library. He had amassed vast wealth, partly from his forensic exertions, and partly from large legacies; for he acknowledges, in his second philippic, that by them he had become master of more than one hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds. His tranquillity, however, was soon interrupted by domestic vexations and afflictions, with public anxiety. From causes not fully explained, he divorced his wife Terentia; his son turned out indifferently in his youth, and in later years addicted himself to a shameful habit of intoxication; his only daughter Tullia, who was married to Lentulus, died in child-bed; and lastly, the assassination of Julius Cæsar recalled him from the country, unhappily again to engage in the dangerous field of political strife. It does not seem that Cicero had any hand in the conspiracy; nevertheless his conduct is not free from blame, and has given rise to his being accused of time-serving and ingratitude. We find him, in the days of Pompey, styling Cæsar "a monstrous and awful tyrant;" but in the height of his power courting him with the elegant compliment, "that he forgot nothing but the injuries done to himself;" and at last, forgetful of his generosity to himself, celebrating his death as a "divine blessing to the republic." Unfortunately there appears too much ground for the above charges against him.

The philippics of Cicero against Antony were all delivered during the period which elapsed between the assassination of Cæsar and the defeat of Antony at Mutina;¹

¹ Mutina, now called Modena.

they were termed philippics from the resemblance they bore to those invectives which Demosthenes poured forth against Philip, king of Macedon. After the death of Cæsar, Cicero fearing Antony, who held a sort of military possession of Rome, determined on a voyage to Greece, but being detained by contrary winds, and having received favourable intelligence from his friends, he returned to the capital. The senate assembled the day after his arrival, to take into consideration, at the suggestion of Antony, the propriety of decreeing some new honours to the memory of Cæsar. To this meeting our orator was specially summoned by Antony, but excused himself on the plea of indisposition, and the fatigue of his journey; he appeared, however, in his place at the meeting of the senate on the following day, when Antony was absent, and delivered the first of these orations. In his speech he declared, that if present on the preceding day, he would have opposed the posthumous honours to the dictator. He then proceeds to warn the senate against the designs of Antony, complains that he had violated the most solemn of Cæsar's laws, and enforced as ordinances mere jottings, found, or pretended to be found, among his memoranda after death. Antony was much incensed at such charges, and called another meeting of the senate, at which he again required the presence of Cicero; but the latter, apprehensive of some design on his life, omitted to attend, so that the reply of Antony in his own justification was unanswered in the senate. The second philippic was written by Cicero in his closet as an answer to the above speech, in which he was charged not only as an accessory to the murder of the dictator, but the principal contriver of the plot. A part of this oration became necessarily defensive; the larger portion, however, is one of the most bitter invectives ever composed, expressed in the strongest terms of contempt and detestation towards Antony. Although this oration, like the second against Verres, was not actually delivered, copies of it were written, and sent to Brutus

Cassius, and other friends of the commonwealth, by which it soon got into extensive circulation; and by rousing the vengeance of Antony, led to the tragical death of its author. It lays open his criminal excesses from early youth, exhibiting one continued scene of vice of the most horrible character, joined with rapine and violence. Cicero, contrasting the modesty and decorum of Pompey, once the favourite of fortune and the Roman people, with the licentiousness of a military adventurer who now rioted in the spoils of his country, says:—"What stupor or madness seized you not to reflect, that when a man of your birth and descent became a buyer at auctions in Rome, of the goods of Pompey, he rendered himself obnoxious to the present and future resentment of both gods and men? But with what insolence and avidity did you possess yourself of the fortune of that patriot, whose bravery made the Roman name as terrible, as his justice rendered it respected by foreign nations! Flushed, however, with this new accession of wealth, no bounds remained to Antony's exultation, though the sudden transition resembled the character of a play, where the hero is one moment a beggar, the next a Crassus. But as some author has observed, 'Ill-gotten wealth is soon spent;' so this hero, in a manner as incredible as portentous, in a few, I will not say months, but days, dissipated all these vast acquisitions. No locks, no inventories, no check upon anything. Whole cellars of wine were lavished upon the greatest miscreants; some things became the plunder of actors, some of actresses; his house was crammed with gamesters and drunkards; licentiousness went the round for whole days; many likewise were his play-debts, for even Antony was not always lucky. There you might see the purple quilts of Pompey consigned to the vile purpose of covering slaves. Cease, then, to wonder, that all this wealth was so suddenly dissipated, for such profusion must have quickly consumed, not only the fortune of one man, however great, but that of cities

and kingdoms. The houses, the gardens of Pompey, all disappeared in the same manner. That you, O matchless impudence! should presume to enter that house, dare to pass the awful threshold, to present your gladiatorial front before the household gods of that illustrious family! Are you not shocked with the remembrance of having prostituted that building, which for many years drew tears from every beholder, to the vilest purposes? Though you bear I know a heart of flint, you never could possess one real enjoyment in that house. When you beheld the naval trophies¹ which adorned the porch, could you seduce yourself into the belief that you were entering your own house? Absent of mind, and vacant of thought as you are, you have recollection sufficient to know your friends and yourself, and to feel that you are not a Pompey. Many therefore must have been the compunctions of soul, both sleeping and awake, which you felt in his house. Violent and desperate as is your frame of mind, the image of that man must sometimes obtrude on your imagination. Then if asleep, what horror must shake; if waking, what frenzy seize you? The walls, the roofs, became in my estimation objects of compassion. No act was ever perpetrated within the one, nor under the other, during Pompey's residence, that modesty could not warrant, or rigid scrutiny justify. The most exact discipline was there established. For, conscript fathers, you well know that Pompey was a man whose virtues were as apparent in a private, as his abilities in a public capacity. Hard indeed to determine which was the greatest object of imitation and applause. How dreadful then to behold the perversion of such an establishment; to see his bed-chambers transformed into stews—his dining-rooms into places of riot and debauchery!"

¹ The Romans, it appears, took much pride in ornamenting their porches, and the avenues to their houses. Pompey having been successful in his war against the pirates, had his decorated with naval spoils.

Cicero dwells with vehement indignation on the offer of the crown to Cæsar, at the Lupercalia. He says, "Lest in my speech I should pass over an incident of the many which have happened in the course of Mark Antony's life, let me proceed to the Lupercal games. You remember, I suppose, the day when your colleague, mounted upon a throne of gold, with a crown on his head, sat in all the state of royal pomp upon the rostrum: you ascended and approached the throne. Amidst sports, and games, and the Lupercal character, Antony, you should not have forgotten that you also bore the character of consul. You produced an imperial diadem; the forum set up a general groan. From whence came that diadem? You did not take up one that chance threw in your way? No, you brought from home the meditated, the concerted treason. Every time you put it on his head, the people set up a groan of anguish; but on his rejecting it, a shout of applause. You therefore, traitor, alone after establishing tyranny, desired to have the man who was your colleague to be your sovereign, and at the same time you made the experiment how far the patience and forbearance of your countrymen could extend. You then affected to move his compassion, threw yourself as a suppliant at his feet. For what favour? That you might be a slave. This would be a favour to you alone, who from your childhood have lived so as to bear any thing, so as to render you a supple slave; but be assured that you had no commission from us, and the people of Rome."

The disgraceful conduct of Antony at the classic villa of Marcus Terentius Varro, calls forth a burst of passionate indignation: "For how many days did you shamefully revel in that villa. From the third hour there was but one continued round of drinking and gaming. The very gates were to be pitied. What a change of masters was there! But how can he be called the master? Still how

unlike is Antony to the person whom he dispossessed! In the hands of Marcus Varro his seat was a retreat for study, and not a haunt for licentiousness. In that retirement, previously, how delightful were the discourses and the writings upon the constitution of the Roman people, the monuments of our fathers, and upon the speculations and practice of philosophy! But during your intrusion, I will not call it possession, the walls resounded with the riotous noise of your orgies, the pavements were deluged, the walls stained with wine. Matrons, and youths of liberal birth, were mingled with the most infamous characters. Visitors from Aquinum, Casilium, and Interama came to attend you; but you were not visible. In this you acted wisely. An abandoned fellow wearing ensigns of dignity should always be concealed." Cicero concludes this philippic very beautifully; and had he not been so sadly defective in personal courage, he might, from his great influence with the senate and people, have crushed Antony without much difficulty. He declares, "In my youth I defended my country; in my old age, I will not abandon her. The sword of Catiline I despised, never shall I dread your's. With pleasure should I expose my person, if by my blood the liberties of Rome could be recovered, and the people freed from those oppressions they have so long endured. Twenty years have elapsed since in this very temple, when a consul, I denied that death could be untimely to me; much more truly can I declare the same now that I am an aged man. To me, conscript fathers, death is even desirable, as I have performed the duties which my station and character required. Two things only I have now to wish for; to leave Rome in the enjoyment of her liberty, than which nothing the gods could here bestow would be more grateful; the other, that the reward of every man be proportioned to what he has deserved of his country."¹ The fourteenth

¹ Demosthenes concludes his oration on the Crown in nearly the same manner, see vol. i. p. 420.

was the last philippic and oration delivered by Cicero, immediately upon the news of the total defeat of Antony before Mutina by the army under Octavius, and the consuls Hirtius and Pansa, the latter of whom was mortally wounded. It was considered that this success had decided the fate of Antony, and sealed his ruin; his union, however, with Octavius, enabled him to retrieve his affairs, annihilated the power of the senate, and fixed the sad fate of Cicero. On the formation of the second triumvirate, composed of Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius, it was reciprocally agreed, that the enemies of each party should be given up; and among the one hundred and thirty senators doomed, the name of Cicero was registered in Antony's list. Apprized by his friends of his danger, he fled from place to place for safety, always believing any other part than the one he was in, more secure: his last retreat was to a small farm which he had near Caieta;¹ an alarm being given, his attendants endeavoured to save him by conveying him towards the sea; the ministers of vengeance, however, were close upon his track; they came up with, and surrounded the litter: laying aside the *Medea* of Euripides, which he was perusing, he put out his head to inquire the cause of the stoppage, it was immediately struck off; and some of the soldiers standing by cut off his hands. These mangled remains were conveyed to Antony, who, in his triumphant revenge, was so cruel as to place them upon that rostrum, from which many of the orations against him had been delivered. His melancholy death took place A. U. C. 710., in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

In contemplating the life of Cicero, it appears, that although exceedingly ambitious of glory, he wanted courage and strength of mind to sustain him in the pursuit; constantly fluctuating between hope and fear, he was unable to support with equanimity the commotions of a disordered

¹ The modern Mola di Gaeta.

state, or the convulsions of civil war; he was, therefore, always endeavouring to reconcile parties, when by vigorously exerting himself he might have put down many seditious attempts against the commonwealth. His spirit, instead of rising with danger and difficulty, was more depressed than became a wise man. When under the immediate apprehension of danger from private enmity, or popular tumult, as in the cause of Milo, his panic was so great as to exhibit an universal tremor; and being scarcely able to speak, his client, notwithstanding his innocence, was sentenced to exile. His chief delight was in the society and conversation of learned men, and many elegant specimens remain of his ability in relating or framing philosophical conferences. In his private intercourse, however, with his friends, as well as in the forum, he discovered a degree of vanity so excessive, as hardly to be reconcilable with true greatness of mind. A moderate share of this failing may readily be excused in a man, so very superior in education and talent to the vast majority of his countrymen; still, it will be admitted, that Cicero had an extraordinarily large share of it, which made him the frequent dupe of individuals, who could skilfully flatter him, and pretend to patriotic feelings for their country. He was also more credulous than was justifiable in a man of his knowledge and experience of the world.

Cicero has left to us complete instructions and details of the art he so splendidly practised; his precepts are contained in the dialogue *De Oratore*, written A.U.C. 698, when, disgusted with the political dissensions of the capital, he had retired for the summer into the country. The history of eloquence is comprehended in the dialogue, entitled, *Brutus Sive de Claris Oratoribus*, composed while Cæsar was engaged in the war against Scipio in Africa. The conversation is supposed to be held between Cicero, Atticus, and Brutus, receiving its name from the latter, and

under a statue of Plato standing in the garden of Cicero's mansion at Rome. In the form of dialogue, our orator has also successively treated of law, metaphysics, theology, and morals. His grounds of jurisprudence are explained in *De Legibus*, "On Laws." Of this dialogue only three books are extant, and even these are not perfect. In the first discourse, treating of laws in general, he lays down the sublime doctrine, that the whole universe being one immense commonwealth of gods and men, who participate in the same essence, and are members of the same community; reason prescribes the law of nature and nations; and all institutions, however modified by accident or custom, are originally drawn from the rule of right which the Deity has impressed on every virtuous mind. That man, being linked to a supreme god, by reason and virtue; and the whole species being associated by a communion of feelings and interests, laws are alike founded on divine authority and natural benevolence. That some actions are just in their own nature, and ought to be performed, not because positive laws punish those who disregard them, but for the sake of that equity which accompanies them independently of human ordinances. Here, it is evident, that Cicero is laying down the foundation of moral right and justice, and not discussing laws, particularly as bad and pernicious enactments he does not admit to be laws at all. In the other two books, the instruction communicated has but little reference to the sublime and general principles with which he sets out. Many of his laws are only arbitrary municipal regulations, regarding the number of magistrates, the period of the duration of their offices, the suffrages and elections of the *comitiæ*; certainly not founded either in the immutable laws of providence, or nature.

His principles and opinions, as a philosopher, are mentioned in a previous part of this volume.¹ The description

¹ See page 261.

of service which Cicero rendered to philosophy will, in some measure, appear from a distinct enumeration of his writings on that science.

On the subject of the philosophy of nature, his principal works are, the fragment of his translation of Plato's *Timæus*, entitled, *De Universitate*, "On the Universe," and his treatise *De Natura Deorum*, "On the Nature of the Gods," in which the opinions of the epicureans and stoics, concerning the divine nature, are stated and examined. To the same class may be referred the books on "Divination and Fate," which are imperfect; also the "Dream of Scipio," commented on by Macrobius, and founded on the Platonic doctrine regarding the soul of the world, &c. On moral philosophy he treats in several distinct works, *De Finibus*, "On Moral Ends," which is a history of the opinions of the Greek philosophers on the ultimate ends of life; *Quæstiones Tusculanæ*, "Tusculum Questions," treat of the contempt of death, patience under bodily pain, the remedies for grief, anxiety, and other painful emotions of the mind, with the sufficiency of virtue to a happy life. In the dialogues entitled *Cato* and *Lælius*, he discourses on the consolations of old age, the duties and pleasures of friendship. His explanations of "Six Stoical Paradoxes," appear rather to have been a rhetorical exercise, than a serious disquisition in philosophy. His treatise *De Officiis*, "On Moral Offices," addressed to his son Marcus, contains a valuable summary of practical ethics, written chiefly on stoical principles, but not without some mixture of the Peripatetic. In his *Quæstiones Academicæ*, "Academic Questions," of which only two books are extant, Cicero clearly discovers his own opinions. As a collection of materials for a history of the Grecian sects, this piece is highly important. Several other works of his on philosophy are lost. It is evident that Cicero rather related the opinions of others, than advanced any new doctrine from his own ideas. He was himself of the new academy.

Cicero, unquestionably the first orator of his age and nation, has frequently been compared with Demosthenes, both by the ancients and the moderns. In external circumstances they were placed in situations not dissimilar; their genius and capacity were the same in many respects, while their fate presents a remarkable coincidence. There was, however, a wide difference in their tempers and characters. Demosthenes was austere and melancholy in his disposition, and obstinate in his undertakings. Cicero, on the other hand, was of a lively and wavering humour. The former, as a popular orator to a more intellectual and enthusiastic people, was obliged to employ the most accurate reasoning, and methodical arrangement in his arguments; by his impetuosity, vehemence, and impassioned daring, he required to carry away his auditory by force, and to dart into their bosoms those electric sparks of eloquence which inflamed the mind, and left no part of it fitted for cool consideration. The tone of the Greek orator was also of a higher and more serious cast than that of the Roman. Demosthenes was not a forensic speaker; he was not fettered by the quibbles and technicalities of law. At one time, when he had fascinated his countrymen by a glorious burst of eloquence, he was obliged to draw their attention immediately to the subject, by exclaiming, "Applaud not the orator, but do what I have recommended. I cannot save you by my words, you must save yourselves by your actions." Cicero was, what every talented individual in the same department is to his predecessor, more insinuating and graceful; full, flowing, and pompous, he employed great pains to finish his orations, and polish every part; making his way to the heart, not only by moving the passions, and calling to his aid the arts of rhetoric, by diction the most correct and elegant, while he conformed to the opinions and prejudices of the Roman people. The former had more genius, the latter more art and refinement.

Eloquence declined during the Augustan age, when other arts and accomplishments attained their greatest perfection. Affairs were no longer determined by an appeal to an ignorant and giddy populace, but by the wisdom of a single chief. Uninterrupted peace abroad, and tranquillity at home, damped the flame both of oratory and sedition. A Catiline, or a Verres, under the steady government of a prince, could no longer run his audacious career. Of the improvements which the emperor effected, those in the administration of justice were the most beneficial; pathos and the arts of rhetoric consequently had less influence than formerly: causes now depended on documents and the testimony of witnesses, and not on a prepossessing exordium, or forcible appeal. The practice of the law became a matter of mere pecuniary emolument, and was followed only as a profession for gain. General assemblies of the people were no longer held, the privilege of arraigning the highest members of the state was abolished. Augustus, while he seemed to leave with the people the choice of their magistrates, deprived them of the power of making laws, and judging in cases of public delinquencies. Thus popular eloquence decayed, deprived of the stimulus of unbounded wealth, and almost regal power, which it had previously conferred.

CHAPTER XI.

RISE OF ROMAN POETRY.

THE DIDACTIC, EPIC, LYRIC, ELEGIAC, AND SATIRIC—LUCRETIUS, CATULLUS, VIRGIL, AND HORACE—ILLUSTRATIONS—REFLECTIONS ON THE MUNIFICENT PATRONAGE OF THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS TO THE LITERARY MEN OF HIS AGE.

The taste for Greek philosophy had been fixed for a considerable time, before original poetry made any advance among the Roman people. That contempt which the ancient and severe republicans felt, or affected for the charm of the former, had given place to the warmest enthusiasm

in the minds of their children. The young patricians were at length instructed either by Greeks, or by native teachers who had studied in Greece; a literary tour through that country, was regarded as forming an essential part in the education of a noble youth; Athens, Rhodes, and Mitylene were looked upon as the purest sources for the study of literature. This constant intercourse naturally led to an intimate knowledge of the philosophy, and finest classical productions of that most intellectual people, the Greeks; and their country became to Rome, what Egypt had been in some measure to Greece. It was thus that Lucretius, one of the most extraordinary of the Roman writers, uniting the precision of the philosopher to the fire and fancy of the poet, while he appears to have had no perfect model among the Greeks, embodied in Roman verse the whole Epicurean system, leaving us a production unrivalled by any of the same description in succeeding ages. It was likewise the same intimate connection with Greece, which induced Catullus to imitate or translate the lighter amatory and epigrammatic compositions of that country. Both these poets lived in the period between the death of Sylla and the accession of Augustus.

Lucretius flourished 58 B.C.

Regarding the life of this eminent poet and philosopher, history presents us with very few authentic accounts. It is not difficult to assign a cause for this want of information; Lucretius lived and died at a period when the attention of every citizen was directed to public affairs, and the Romans were distracted by the ambition of aspiring leaders, and the jealousies of contending factions, when the party that triumphed in the morning was frequently defeated in the evening. Besides, the life of this poetical philosopher appears to have been passed in quiet and retirement; a situation best calculated for the cultivation of the muses, although affording few of those incidents which demand the pen of the

biographer. The exact date of the birth of Lucretius is not decided; according to the chronicle of Eusebius, it took place A.U.C. 658, which makes him nine years younger than Cicero. At the period when this poet was sent to Athens, the Epicurean school, for some time on the decline, had revived under the munificent patronage of Lucius Memmius, a Roman citizen of high rank and unswerving virtue, whose son was a fellow-student with Lucretius. It was now superintended by Zeno and Phædrus, and numbered among its illustrious pupils, Cicero, his brother Quintus, Cassius, Titus Pomponius, from his critical knowledge of the Greek language surnamed Atticus. One of the dearest friends of Lucretius was his school fellow Memmius, whom he accompanied to Bithynia, when the latter was appointed governor of that province, and dedicated his celebrated poem to him in terms of manly and elegant courtesy, telling him, that the hoped-for pleasure of his sweet friendship, enabled him to endure any toil or vigils.—

For such thy virtue, and the friendship pure
 My bosom bears, that arduous task I dare;
 And yield the sleepless night, in hope to cull
 Some happy phrase, some well-selected verse,
 Meet for the subject, to dispel each shade,
 And bid the mystic doctrine hail the day.

In the neighbourhood of Rome it appears that our poet fixed his peaceful abode, and composed his unrivalled poem *De Rerum Natura*, “On the Nature of Things,” in six books. The composition of his work seems to have afforded him an uninterrupted source of pleasure; many passages testify the delight it produced; he more than once bursts forth into the following exclamation—

The thirst of fame
 Burns all my bosom, and through ev’ry nerve
 Darts the proud love of letters and the muse.

His life, however, was unfortunately short, although sufficiently prolonged to enable him to complete his poem. Eusebius tells us, he died in the forty-fourth year of his age, by his own hands, in a paroxysm of insanity produced by a philter, or love-charm, which Lucilia his wife had given to him, not with the design of depriving him of life or reason, but to renew or increase his affection for her. Others believe with more probability, that his mental alienation proceeded from melancholy on account of the calamities of his country, torn by the miseries of faction and civil war, joined to the exile of his dear friend Memmius, circumstances sufficiently calculated to destroy the texture of so sensitive and delicate a mind as this illustrious poet possessed.

The poem of Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, is, as the name imports, philosophic and didactic in the strictest acceptation of these terms. Poems of this description, are the most unfavourable for the exertions of poetical genius, and will depend in a great measure for their beauty and interest on those parts of his subject which the author selects, and on the digressions they admit. The class of episodes chosen by Lucretius, is that containing declamations against luxury and vice, reflections on the beauty of virtue, and the delights of rural retirement. The difficulties which he had to struggle with were naturally great and numerous; we therefore cannot wonder at his frequently feeling their embarrassing effects, and occasionally alluding to them in his progress. The subject he selected was not only a noble one, but also of the most profound and comprehensive nature that can engage the attention of the human mind; nor is there any title by which it could be more properly designated than the one selected by himself, as it embraces the whole scope of natural, metaphysical, and moral philosophy; and to execute it with any degree of success required an extraordinary and comprehensive amount of knowledge. One great difficulty which our poet had to surmount was produced by the Latin

language itself, which, although rich and nervous with respect to affairs belonging to the senate, or the forum, displayed extreme poverty and imbecility in matters of metaphysical science. The only poets who had preceded Lucretius in hexameter verse, were Livius Andronicus, Ennius, and Nævius; and of these three, the second alone was worthy any degree of notice, and who on this account has been justly regarded as the father of Roman poetry, and to whom our poet, with that suavity of disposition for which he was so much distinguished, pays a high compliment, proving how far he was above every little and invidious feeling, where he says—

As Ennius taught, immortal bard, whose brows
Unfading laurels bound, and still whose verse
All Rome recites entranc'd.

Another difficulty arose from philosophical disquisition being unsuitable to poetry, in demanding a dry precision of thought, and a style of expression rejecting excursive fancy and ornament of diction, that luxuriance of imagery, which is such an adjunct to poetry becoming inapplicable when applied to philosophy. These serious difficulties, however, Lucretius ably encountered and subdued; having met noble subjects with equal nobility of language, and softened the rugged parts by the elegance and beauty of his episodes.

The poem, *De Rerum Natura*, is divided into six books; it contains a full exposition of the theological, physical, and moral system of Epicurus. In the first and second books, Lucretius principally expounds the cosmogony, or physical part of his system, laying down his two great principles, that nothing can be made of nothing, and that nothing can ever be annihilated or return to nothing; that there is in the universe a void or space, in which atoms interact, which atoms he believed to be the original component parts of all matter, as well as of animal life, and the modification or arrangement of such corpuscles occasions, according to him,

the only difference in substances. The third book opens with a panegyric upon Epicurus. From the nature and properties of atoms, the poet advances to a more detailed account of their result. Here he lays down his doctrine, that the soul is altogether material, and compounded of different gases inhaled from the atmosphere; and that, in consequence of its materiality, it is mortal, and perishes with the body. He then combats the anxiety and terror of mankind upon contemplating the prospect of death, whether as a state of annihilation or of future punishment, and denies the truth of the popular mythological fables of his country respecting a future state of punishment, and hence ridicules the absurdity of any undue anxiety on either account. He then concludes with his opinions on the best means of moderating such anxiety, and consequently of giving to life what he considers its truest relish and enjoyment. Rarely indeed, have arguments been arranged with such skill and talent as the poet displays on this part of his subject. In the fourth book the poet proceeds to illustrate the nature of sense and perception, as well in sleep as in vigilance; the truth and certainty of the senses, and the fallacy of the mind in its judgment; the passion and economy of love, with the physical evils of licentious indulgence in the ruin of health, fortune, and reputation; the superior pleasures of virtuous affection; the importance of an amiable disposition to domestic felicity, and its triumph over every opposition. The fifth book commences with a declaration on the difficulty of composing an eulogy equal to the merits of Epicurus: the contents of this book explain the origin and laws of the visible world, chaos, and creation in its regular and progressive order; rise of the vegetable and animal world; description of primeval life and manners; origin of superstition and mythology, mineralogy, art of war, the useful and polite sciences, their progress and tendency towards perfection. The sixth book begins with a panegyric on Athens as the inventress and

first promoter of the useful and polite arts, but especially as the birth-place of Epicurus. It also contains the opinions of the poet on the different meteors of the heavens, and an explanation of their causes; magnetism, and its theory; endemic and pestilential diseases, concluding with a minute and pathetic account of the plague which depopulated Athens during the Peloponnesian war; a description very extraordinary, whether we consider the precise and appropriate terms employed, without a word to offend the most scrupulous delicacy, or the nervous and captivating language portraying the history of that awful pestilence.

The opinion of the Rev. Doctor Warton, a profound scholar and a judicious critic, on the sublime poem of Lucretius is thus expressed: "I am next to speak of Lucretius, whose merit as a poet has never yet been sufficiently displayed, and who seems to have had more fire, spirit, and energy than any of the Roman poets, not excepting Virgil himself. Whoever imagines that Lucretius has not a great genius, is desired to cast his eye on two pictures he has given to us at the beginning of his poem; the first of Venus, with her lover Mars, beautiful to the last degree, and more glowing than any picture painted by Titian; the second of that terrible and gigantic figure, the dæmon of Superstition, worthy the energetic pencil of Michael Angelo." Thus drawn:

Parent of Rome! by gods and men belov'd,
Benignant Venus! thou! the sail-clad main,
And fruitful earth, as round the seasons roll,
With life who swellest, for by thee all live,
And living hail the cheerful light of day.
Thee, goddess, at thy glad approach, the winds,
The tempests fly; dedalian earth to thee
Pours forth her sweetest flow'rets, Ocean laughs,
And the blue heavens in cloudless splendour deck'd.
For, when the Spring first opes her frolic eye,

And genial zephyrs long lock'd up respire,
 Thee, goddess, then the ærial birds confess,
 To rapture stung through ev'ry shiv'ring plume.
 Thee, the wild herds; hence, o'er the joyous glebe
 Bounding at large; or, with undaunted chest,
 Stemming the torrent tides. Through all that lives
 So, by thy charms, thy blandishments o'erpower'd,
 Springs the warm wish thy footsteps to pursue.
 Since, then, with universal sway thou rul'st,
 And thou alone; nor aught without thee springs,
 Aught gay or lovely; thee I woo to guide
 Aright my flowing song, that aims to paint
 To Memmius' view the essences of things.
 Memmius, my friend, by thee from earliest youth,
 O goddess! led, and train'd to every grace.
 Then O, vouchsafe thy favour, power divine!
 And with immortal eloquence inspire.
 Quell too, the fury of the hostile world,
 And lull to peace, that all the strain may hear.
 For peace is thine; on thy soft bosom he,
 The warlike field who sways, almighty Mars,
 Struck by triumphant love's eternal wound,
 Reclines full frequent; with uplifted gaze
 On thee he feeds his longing ling'ring eyes,
 And all his soul hangs quiv'ring from thy lips.
 Ope thy bland voice and intercede for Rome.
 For while th' unsheath'd sword is brandish'd, vain
 And all unequal is the poet's song;
 And vain th' attempt to claim his patron's ear.

On superstition, and its malignant effects on mankind,
 Lucretius says,

Them long the tyrant pow'r
 Of superstition sway'd, uplifting proud
 Her head to heaven, and with horrific limbs
 Brooding o'er earth; till he, the man of Greece,¹

¹ Meaning Epicurus.

Auspicious rose, who first the combat dar'd,
And broke in twain the monster's iron rod.
No thunder him, no fell revenge pursu'd
Of heav'n incens'd, or deities in arms.
Urg'd rather, hence, with more determin'd soul,
To burst through nature's portals, from the crowd
With jealous caution clos'd; the flaming walls
Of heaven to scale, and dart his dauntless eye,
Till the vast whole before him stood display'd.
Hence taught he us triumphant what might spring,
And what forbear; what pow'rs inherent lurk,
And where their bounds and issues. And hence we,
Triumphant too, o'er Superstition rise,
Contemn her errors, and unfold the heavens.
Nor deem the truths philosophy reveals
Corrupt the mind, or prompt to impious deeds.
No; Superstition¹ may, and nought so soon,
But wisdom never.

Here the poet introduces, with exquisite art, the affecting episode of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, on the altar of Diana, in order to procure a favourable wind for the Greek navy, on its expedition against Troy.

Lucretius opens his second book with an elegance and beauty of imagery, which have produced a host of imitators. The pursuit of knowledge differs essentially from every other exertion; and although it has difficulties and labours, still its path is free from anxiety and disappointment, while the individual who gains possession of its summit feels himself elevated above his fellow-men, and may regard with calmness the crowds below him struggling for less noble objects.

¹ Modern authors have correctly denominated superstition, under the term of fanaticism, as the unnatural offspring of religion, and the immediate source of every shocking and inhuman rite.

He says—

How sweet to stand, when tempests tear the main,
 On the firm cliff, and mark the seaman's toil!
 Not that another's danger soothes the soul,
 But from such toil how sweet to feel secure!
 How sweet, at distance from the strife, to view
 Contending hosts, and hear the clash of war!
 But sweeter far on wisdom's heights serene,
 Upheld by truth to fix our firm abode;
 To watch the giddy crowd that deep below,
 For ever wander in pursuit of bliss;
 To mark the strife for honours, and renown.
 For wit and wealth, insatiate, ceaseless urg'd
 Day after day, with labour unrestrain'd.
 O wretched mortals! race perverse and blind!
 Through what dread dark, and perilous pursuits
 Pass ye this round of being! know ye not
 Of all ye toil for, nature little asks
 But for the body freedom from disease,
 And sweet unanxious quiet for the mind?

The poets Empedocles¹ and Ennius appear to have been the chief guides of Lucretius, although he certainly was the most original poet of his age and nation. If he received any benefit from the former, he has been lavish and eloquent in his commendations. One of the most pleasing features in this Latin poet, is the tone of admiration and respect in which he writes of his illustrious predecessors.

¹ Empedocles was a philosopher, poet, and historian of Agrigento, in Sicily; he flourished 444 B.C. He was the disciple of Telauges, the Pythagorean, and adopted the doctrine of transmigration to such a degree of absurdity, that he believed he was successively a girl, a boy, a bird, a fish, and lastly Empedocles. His poetry on the opinions of Pythagoras, and his own transmutations, was bold, animated, and much admired.

The following beautiful dirge is said to have been chaunted at the Athenian funerals, and consequently derived from the Greeks. It commences:

Nam jam non domus accipiet te læta, &c.

“ But thy dear home shall never greet thee more!
No more the best of wives! thy babes belov'd,
Whose haste half met thee, emulous to snatch
The dulcet kiss that rous'd thy secret soul,
Again shall never hasten! nor thine arm,
With deed heroic, guard thy country's weal!
O mournful, mournful fate! But thou art safe!
The sleep of death protects thee! and secures
From all th' unnumber'd woes of mortal life!
While we, alas! the sacred urn around
That holds thine ashes, shall insatiate weep,
Nor time destroy the hopeless grief we feel!”

Towards the close of the third book, the poet introduces the magnificent prosopopœia of nature rebuking her children for their regrets, and the injustice of their complaints at leaving the world, in a strain exceedingly solemn, affecting, and sublime. Thus:

O mortal, whence these useless fears?
This weak, superfluous sorrow? why th' approach
Dread'st thou of death? For if the time elaps'd
Have smil'd propitious, and not all its gifts,
As though adventur'd in a leaky vase,
Been idly wasted, profitless, and vain.
Why quit'st thou not, thou fool! the feast of life
Fill'd, and with mind all panting for repose?
But if thyself have squander'd every boon,
And of the past grown weary—Why demand
More days to kill, more blessings to pervert,
Nor rather headlong hasten to thine end?
For nothing further can my powers devise
To please thee; things for ever things succeed

Unchang'd, and would do, though revolving years
 Should spare thy vigour, and thy brittle frame
 Live o'er all time; e'en amplifier wouldst thou then
 Mark how unvaried all creation moves.

He continues:

Were nature thus t' address us, could we fail
 To feel the justice of her keen rebuke?
 So true the picture, the advice so sage!
 But to the wretch who moans th' approach of death
 With grief unmeasur'd, louder might she raise
 Her voice severe. 'Vile coward! dry thine eyes
 Hence with thy sniv'ling sorrows, and depart!
 Should he, moreo'er, have past man's mid-day hour—
 'What! thou lament? already who hast reap'd
 An ample harvest? by desiring thus
 The past once more, the present thou abhorr'st,
 • And life flies on imperfect, unenjoy'd,
 And death untimely meets thee ere thy soul,
 Cloy'd with the banquet is prepar'd to rise.
 Leave then, to others, bliss thy years should shun.
 Come, cheerful leave it, since still leave thou must.

Many of the poets who have painted the golden age, and Ovid in particular, have exhibited mankind as becoming more vicious and unhappy with the advance of time; Lucretius, however, in a more philosophical and amiable spirit, represents men as continually improving. He has fixed on wedded love as the first great softener of the human heart, followed by the cultivation of music and progressive improvement. The following lines are remarkable for tenderness, purity, and truth:

Yet when at length, rude huts they once devis'd,
 And fires, and garments, and in union sweet,
 Man wedded woman, the pure joys indulg'd
 Of chaste connubial love, and children rose,
 The rough barbarians soften'd. The warm hearth

Their frames so cheer'd, they no more would bear
 As erst, th' uncover'd skies; the nuptial bed
 Broke their first wildness, and the fond caress
 Of prattling children from the bosom chas'd
 Their stern ferocious manners. Neighbours now
 Join'd in the bonds of friendship, and resolv'd
 The softer sex to cherish; and their babes,
 And own'd by gestures, signs, and sounds uncouth,
 'Twas just the weaklier to protect from harm.
 Yet all such bonds obey'd not; but the good,
 The larger part their faith still uncorrupt
 Kept, or the race of man had long expir'd,
 Nor sire to son transferr'd the life receiv'd.

* *

And from the liquid warblings of the birds
 Learn'd they their first rude notes, ere music yet
 To the 'rapt ear had tun'd the measur'd dress,
 And zephyr, whisp'ring through the hollow reeds,
 Taught the first swains the hollow reeds to sound;
 Whence woke they soon those tender trembling tones
 Which the sweet pipe, when by the fingers prest,
 Pours o'er the hills, the vales, and woodlands wild,
 Haunts of lone shepherds, and the rural gods.
 So growing time points, ceaseless, something new,
 And human skill evolves it into day.
 Thus sooth'd they ev'ry care, with music thus,
 Clos'd ev'ry meal, for rests the bosom then.
 And oft they threw them on the velvet grass,
 Near gliding streams, by shadowy trees o'er-arch'd,
 And void of costly wealth, found still the means
 To gladden life. * *

Thus navigation, agriculture, arms,
 Laws, buildings, highways, drap'ry, all esteem'd
 Useful to life, or to the bosom dear;
 Song, painting, sculpture, their perpetual need,

And long experience fashion'd and refin'd.
So growing time points ceaseless something new,
And human skill evolves it into day;
And art harmonious ever-aiding art
All reach, at length, perfection's topmost point.

In defiance of the knowledge and talents of Lucretius, it was impossible, from the nature of his subject, but that some portions of it would be found incapable of poetical embellishment, and for such, allowances must be made; neither can they seriously derogate from the merits of his magnificent and beautiful poem. Didactic poetry is unquestionably that in which the Romans surpassed their predecessors the Greeks, because it depends as much upon information and acquirements as upon imagination, and the world was wiser in the later age of this poet than in the time of Homer, or even Pericles. It is somewhat remarkable, however, to observe, with what a spirit of unthinking perverse malignity, Lucretius and Epicurus,¹ whose philosophical doctrines he followed, have been calumniated. It is evident, that these two eminent men, while using the word pleasure, meant virtue in its strictest sense; and if the system of philosophy, which bears the name of Epicurus came to be abused, like every other good institution in this world, it is not fair to throw the odium on him. In reviewing the life and works of Lucretius, it appears to be almost invariably overlooked, that he lived before the Christian era, and consequently could not be acquainted with the sublime and excellent truths then promulgated; indeed it would seem as if the very grandeur of his genius had caused abuse to be more intolerant. The imitations and refutations of this eminent philosopher and poet, have been so numerous, that a list of names would be too long to insert, and it is less necessary, as he has not yet

¹ For a brief sketch of his doctrines, see page 271 of this volume.

met with a rival. The prediction of Ovid has been accomplished:

Carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti,
Exitio terras cum dabit una dies.

“Lucretius’ lofty song shall live in deathless fame,
Till fate dissolves at once this universal frame.”

In a review of Latin literature, it is impossible to overlook the imitative spirit of Roman poetry, and the constant resemblance of the latter to some Greek original. None of his poetical predecessors was more intimate with the works of Greek authors than Catullus, whose extensive knowledge of their beauties obtained for him the appellation *Doctus*, or the learned. He translated a number of the shorter, and more delicate pieces of the Greek poets, an attempt considered impossible before he accomplished the task, although the humour of their comedies, the pathos of their tragedies, and the powerful romance of the *Odyssey* had stood the transformation into a new language. He was nearly contemporary with Lucretius, and after him the most distinguished poet of his time.

Catullus flourished 52 B. C.

He was born not at Sirmio, where he afterwards resided, as is sometimes supposed, but at Verona, according to the Eusebian chronicle A. U. C. 666; but, according to other authorities, in 667 or 668. The precise date of his birth has been a topic of debate, and of his life few particulars are known with certainty. His parents were respectable, and in early life he contracted a friendship with Manlius Torquatus, a distinguished patrician, who introduced him into the best society at Rome, continued his patron for life, and conferred on him numerous favours. In the capital, the poet who had personal appearance to invite favour, and health to endure dissipation, became the associate of the fair and the gay, and passed a short career of gallantry and pleasure. He impaired his fortune by his extravagance, and complains in his writings of his poverty,

although he could not be indigent, as he possessed an elegant villa on the peninsula of Sirmio, and a farm in the Tiburtine territory. His means were also materially increased, as we learn from the epistle to Manlius, by the generosity of his noble patron. It would appear, that the distresses of which he complains were the temporary result of imprudences, which also involved him in law suits, as we may reasonably infer from his thanks to Cicero, for forensic exertions in his behalf, and from his intimacy with so many lawyers. To repair his fortune, he was induced to accompany Lucius Memmius, the celebrated patron of Lucretius, to Bithynia, when he was appointed prætor of that province; but he returned disappointed in his expectations, which failure he attributed to the conduct of Memmius, whom he takes more than one opportunity to lash and expose. While on this expedition he lost a beloved brother near Troy, and for whose death he has poured forth reiterated lamentations, seldom surpassed in delicacy and pathos. He returned to Rome with a broken constitution, and lacerated heart; and from that period till his decease, he appears to have occupied the greater part of his time in the prosecution of licentious indulgences, either in the capital, or in the retirement of Sirmio. The period of his death is not positively ascertained. According to Eusebius he died at thirty, while Virgil was still a youth pursuing his studies at Cremona. Some writers assert, that he lived till A. U. C. 705; and Cicero, in his letters, mentioning his verses against Cæsar and Mamurra, represents them as newly written and seen by the dictator in 708. If such be correct, he must have been upwards of forty years of age at his decease.

When we consider the taste and genius of this eminent poet, we cannot help regretting that he did not aspire to a character more worthy of approbation and esteem, than that of an idle and dissipated man of fashion. He was devotedly

attached to Clodia,¹ already mentioned in Cicero's defence of Cælius, a beautiful but worthless woman, whom he has celebrated in his verses under the name of Lesbia; he also numbered among his mistresses Hypsithilla and Aufilena, ladies of Verona. Such associates brought with them their usual consequences, anxiety, injury to fortune and character, with that feeling of helpless tormenting degradation which places Catullus occasionally in a ridiculous and painful light. Among his friends he ranked not only many men of fashion at Rome, but also a number of eminent literary and political characters, such as Cornelius Nepos, to whom he dedicates his poems; Cicero, Asinius Pollio, &c. Catullus is the earliest of the Roman lyric poets; his verses are chiefly employed in the indulgence and commemoration of the feelings of love, friendship, and dislike. An attempt has been made to distribute them into three classes, the lyric, elegiac, and epigrammatic; but there is no such separation in the best manuscripts, neither can they with propriety be so classified. Indeed the poet styles his collection *Libellum Singularem*, "a singular little book," a truly correct definition, when we remember that he was the inventor of a new species of Latin poetry, and the first who used such a variety² of measures; thus the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis are in hexameter verse, others in Iambic or Phalangian, besides the Sapphic stanza, and hexameter and pentameter lines used alternately, constituting the elegiac verse employed in his elegies. His poems have the same variety of character; the *Idyllia* are tender, natural, and picturesque; the *Epithalamiums*, or nuptial songs, are accurate in description, pathetic and impassioned; his elegies are mournful and affecting; the epigrams pointed and satirical, but sadly abusive and licentious. The different kinds of poetry which Catullus, though not the inventor, first introduced at Rome, were imitated

¹ See page 381 of this volume.

² In his poems Catullus has employed 13 different sorts of verses.

On the death of the sparrow, is a lamentation over the same bird, held in high estimation. Juvenal and Martial allude to it; Noel mentions above thirty imitations in Latin, Greek, French, and Italian. Henry Stephens has applied it to bewail the death of a young friend through intemperance; it is also imitated by William Cartwright, and by Lord Byron in his *Hours of Idleness*.

Mourn, all ye loves and graces mourn,
Ye wits, ye gallant, and ye gay;
Death from my fair her bird has torn,
Her much-lov'd sparrow snatch'd away.

Her very eyes she priz'd not so,
For he was fond, and knew my fair
Well as young girls their mothers know,
Flew to her breast and nestl'd there.

When fluttering round from place to place,
He gaily chirp'd to her alone;
He now that gloomy path must trace,
Whence fate permits return to none.

Oh evil deed! oh sparrow dead!
Oh what a wretch, if thou canst see
My fair one's eyes with weeping red,
And know how much she grieves for thee!

The favourite villa¹ of Catullus was on the peninsula of Sirmio, now called Sermione, which juts into the Lake Benacus, now the Lago di Garda. This peninsula retains all

¹ In the year 1797 the late Emperor Napoleon, then commander in chief of the army of Italy, visited in person the retreat of Catullus, while travelling from Milan to Peseriano to conclude the treaty of Campo Formio. About two years afterwards the French officers employed at the siege of Peschiera, eight miles from Sirmio, gave a brilliant fete in this classic retirement in honour of the poet, as soon as their military operations had been successfully termi-

its beauty, which is not surpassed by any spot in Italy ; remains of pilasters, arches, and subterraneous apartments are still visible. The poet, on his return to his country house, has addressed to it the following beautiful lines.

Sirmio, of all the shores the gem,
The isles where circling Neptune strays,
Whether the vast and boisterous main,
Or lake's more limpid waves they stem,
How gladly on thy lands I gaze !
How blest to visit thee again !

I scarce believe, while rapt I stand,
That I have left the Thynian fields,
And all Bithynia far behind,
And safely view my favourite land.
Oh bliss, when care dispersing yields
To full repose the placid mind !

Then when the mind its load lays down ;
When we regain, all hazards past,
And with long ceaseless travel tir'd,
Our household god again our own ;
And press in tranquil sleep at last
The well-known bed so oft desir'd.

This can alone atonement make
For every toil. Hail, Sirmio sweet !
Be gay, thy lord hath ceas'd to roam !
Ye laughing waves of Lydia's lake,
Smile all around ! thy master greet
With all thy smiles, my pleasant home !

Besides his villa, Catullus had a farm which stood on the confines of the Sabine and Tiburtine territory, consequently

nated ; nay, so far did they carry their respect to his memory, that the troops were marched from that canton to another district.

disputes might arise as to which it belonged ; why Catullus preferred Tibur does not appear. Horace calls Tibur, now Tivoli, one of the sweetest spots on earth, and wishes it to be the retirement of his old age. The poet's lines are—

Whether, my farm, the Sabine bounds,
Or Tibur hold thy peaceful grounds ;
(For those who love me like a friend
Call thee of Tibur, those who come
To vex my pride with any sum
That thou art Sabine will contend.)

But whether that, or truly class'd
'Mong Tibur's lands, well-pleas'd I've pass'd
Some days in thy sequester'd seat.
Thou from my loaded breast hast driv'n
A cough my stomach's sins had giv'n,
Deserv'd by many a costly treat.

And when I plainly hop'd to feed
As Sextius' guest, my host would read
His speech 'gainst Attius, made of old.
'Twas full of poison and disease ;
It made me shiver, made me sneeze,
And gave me a bad cough and cold.

At length I fled into thy breast ;
And then, with med'cine and with rest,
Have cur'd myself in little time :
So now, in health and spirits gay,
My warmest thanks to thee I pay,
Who thus hast done away my crime.

The following poem, independently of its beauties, is valuable as containing a description of the nuptial rite of the ancients. The Epithalamium was usually sung by youths and maidens as the bride proceeded from her parents' house to that of her husband's. It is too long for insertion ; a few

verses, however, will give a fair idea of the hymn. It was composed by Catullus on the marriage of his patron Manlius Torquatus.

Oh thou, Urania's heav'n-born son,
Whose lov'd abode is Helicon;
Whose pow'r bestows the virgin's charms
To bless the youthful bridegroom's arms;
Oh Hymen! friend to faithful pairs;
Oh Hymen! hear our fervent pray'rs!

Around thy brow the chaplet bind,
Of fragrant marjoram entwin'd;
And bring the veil with crimson dy'd,
The refuge of the blushing bride.
Come, joyous, while thy feet of snow
With yellow sandals brightly glow!

Arouse thee on this happy day:
Carol the hymeneal lay:
Raise in the strain thy silver voice;
And in the festal dance rejoice;
And brandish high the blissful sign,
The guiding torch of flaming pine.

Ye virgins, whom a day like this
Awaits to greet with equal bliss,
Oh! join the song, your voices raise
To hail the god ye love to praise.
Oh Hymen! god of faithful pairs;
Oh Hymen! hear our earnest pray'rs!

Thy influence tears, thy fond behest,
The damsel from her mother's breast;
And yields her blooming blushing charms
To happy man's resistless arms.
Oh Hymen! god of faithful pairs;
Oh Hymen! hear our earnest pray'rs!

Unbar the door, the gates unfold!
The bashful virgin comes. Behold,
How red the nuptial torches glare;
How bright they shake their splendid hair!
Come, gentle bride! The waning day
Rebukes thy ling'ring cold delay.

We will not blame thy bashful fears,
Reluctant step and gushing tears,
That chide the swift approach of night
To give thy bridegroom all his right.
Yet come, sweet bride! The waning day
Rebukes thy ling'ring cold delay.

As round the husband elm entwine
The tendrils of the clinging vine,
Thus will he woo thee still to place
Round him a fondling close embrace.
Come, gentle bride! The waning day
Rebukes thy ling'ring cold delay.

Raise, boys, the beaming torches high!
She comes—but veil'd from ev'ry eye;
The deeper dyes her blushes hide:
With songs, with pæans greet the bride!
Hail Hymen! god of faithful pairs!
Hail Hymen! who has heard our pray'rs!

Now pour the warm Fescennine¹ lays,
And all the bridegroom's feelings raise:
Now let his pure, his plighted hand
Throw nuts to all the youthful band,
Base emblems of the looser joys
He henceforth leaves to wanton boys.

¹ These were loose and satirical verses, sung by the attendant youths to the husband; they originated at Fescennia, a town of Campania.

Oh! boundless be your love's excess,
 And soon our hopes let children bless!
 Let not this ancient honour'd name
 Want heirs to guard its future fame;
 Nor any length of years assign
 A limit to the glorious line.

Soon may we see a baby rest
 Upon its lovely mother's breast;
 Which, feebly playful, stretching out
 Its little arms to those about,
 With lips apart a tiny space,
 Is laughing in its father's face.¹

Now close the doors, ye maiden friends;
 Our sports, our rite, our service ends.
 With you let virtue still reside,
 Oh bridegroom brave, and gentle bride!
 And youth its happy hours employ
 In constant love, and ardent joy.

We have another bridal hymn of Catullus, sung by youths and maidens alternately; a couple of verses will be sufficient to explain the style of it.

Youths.

'Tis Hesper beams! Behold, his rising light
 Brings on, at length, the long-expected night.
 Then youths arise; the festal banquet leave,

¹ The above verse has been imitated in an epithalamium on the marriage of Lord Spenser by Sir William Jones, who declares it to be a picture worthy the pencil of Domenichino.

“And then to be completely blest,
 Soon may a young Torquatus rise,
 Who, hanging on his mother's breast,
 To his known sire shall turn his eyes;
 Outstretch his infant arms awhile,
 Half ope his little lips and smile.”

Obey the summons of the star of eve !
 The virgin comes, led by his genial ray ;
 'Tis your's to greet her with the nuptial lay.
 Oh Hymen, hear ! Oh sacred Hymen, haste ;
 Come, god and guardian of the fond and chaste !

Maidens.

Behold, the youths are ris'n ! Rise, maidens, rise
 Hesper¹ o'er Eta's height illumines the skies.
 Blithe are the youths ; with tuneful art they frame
 A tender song, that to surpass were fame.
 Oh Hymen, hear ! Oh sacred Hymen, haste ;
 Come, god and guardian of the fond and chaste !

*

*

The origin of Latin elegy is to be traced from the following elegant poem of Catullus to Manlius, in which he laments the death of his brother in language beautifully pathetic, marked and maintained throughout by genuine feeling ; and from another elegy on the loss of Berenice's hair,² translated by him from the Greek of Callimachus, which latter piece is considered one of the worst of the longer poems of Catullus. The epistle to Manlius is much too long for insertion, but a part of it will doubtless gratify the reader.

The plaintive letter, Manlius, thou hast sent,
 While low by fate and sudden misery bent,

¹ Hesper, or the evening star, was considered propitious to newly-wedded lovers ; its rising, among the Romans, was the signal for conducting the bride to her future home. It has been frequently invoked, both by ancient and modern poets, on such occasions.

² This poem originated in a piece of court flattery. Berenice, queen of Egypt, vowed an offering of her hair to Venus Zephyrites, if her husband Ptolemy Evergetes should be successful in an expedition to Assyria, on which he set out a few days after their nuptials. The hair being afterwards missed from the temple, Conon, a Samian astronomer, discovered that it had become a constellation in the skies. The original poem of Callimachus is lost.

That bids me raise thee from the 'whelming grave,
 And rescue from the threshold of the grave.
 Think not I wish my duty to disown
 To the first friend my life has ever known;
 But Manlius, learn my own unhappy state;
 Learn in how rough a sea of troublous fate
 I sink o'erwhelm'd; nor ask from hopeless woe
 For gifts the happy only can bestow.

When the white robe of man I first assum'd,
 When youth's light spring with ev'ry pleasure bloom'd,
 Free were my sports, nor did that goddess spare
 Who blends the bitter sweets of lovers' care.
 But all these joys my brother's death has torn
 From the lone wretch whom he hath left to mourn.
 Brother, thy death has wrapt my days in gloom,
 And all our house lies buried in thy tomb;
 Thy friendship still my life with pleasure fed,
 And ev'ry pleasure now with thee is dead.
 His early fate has from my bosom chas'd
 All former joys, and all the mind can taste.

*

*

Yet can I not, ye Nine, the tale express,
 How Manlius still has toil'd my life to bless;
 Nor let oblivious time its gloom extend
 O'er the dear memory of so true a friend.
 When narrow bounds confin'd my poor domain,
 He made me master of a spacious plain;
 He bounteous plac'd me in a rich abode,
 And the fond girl whose love I shar'd bestow'd:
 That home my goddess blest: that mansion bore
 Her graceful foot upon its tell-tale floor;
 There oft her creaking sandal, sweet to hear,
 Foretold the fair one to her lover's ear.

*

*

The poet again refers to his brother—

Alas! his eyes are clos'd in lasting gloom!

Brother! our house lies with thee in the tomb;
 Thy friendship still my life with pleasures fed,
 And all my pleasures now with thee are dead.
 Not mid ancestral tombs for ages trac'd,
 Nor with the urns of kindred ashes plac'd;
 But hateful Troy, Troy's melancholy plains
 Hold in ungenial soil thy lov'd remains.

*

*

This gift of verse, 'tis all I can, I send
 To pay the duties of a grateful friend:
 This grateful verse shall keep thy name and praise
 Known and rever'd through all succeeding days.
 To thee the gods will ev'ry boon supply
 Which Themis' self¹ in ages long gone by,
 Whom never softness sway'd nor favour woo'd,
 Heap'd on the wise, the pious, and the good.
 Then Manlius, blest be thou, and blest be she,
 The fair whose life is life and love to thee!
 Blest be the maid, who still of either fond,
 Link'd love and friendship in a common bond.

The poet's visit to his brother's grave is commemorated by the following verses, forming an address simple and touching, alluding to the observances, offerings, and invocations deemed due by the Romans to their departed kindred.

Brother, I come o'er many seas and lands
 To the sad rite which pious love ordains;
 To pay thee the last gift that death demands;
 And oft, though vain, invoke thy mute remains:
 Since death has ravish'd half myself in thee,
 Oh wretched brother, sadly torn from me!
 And now, ere fate our souls shall reunite,
 To give me back all it hath snatch'd away,

¹ Themis, the daughter of Cælus and Terra, who presided over the petitions presented to the gods, and the guardian of truth, equity, and religion.

Receive the gift, our fathers' ancient rite
To shades departed still were wont to pay;
Gifts wet with tears of heartfelt grief that tell,
And ever, brother, bless thee, and farewell!

Before the time of Virgil, whose works now come under our attention, the Roman muse had been chiefly, if not altogether employed in describing or recording Greek fables; the plays of Plautus and Terence were translations from the comic poets of Athens; Lucretius had embodied in Latin verse a system of Grecian philosophy; and Catullus filled his poems with Greek traditions concerning Peleus and Thetis, the locks of Berenice, translated from Callimachus, &c. In the early ages of Roman poetry, these subjects answered all the purposes of entertainment and novelty, nearly as well as an original composition. Greek themes, however, had now become trite, and the language was so generally known at Rome, that a tragedy of Euripides, or a comedy of Menander, had no longer that novelty which it possessed in the age of Scipio, when both readers and audience were unacquainted with the originals; while the works of the older Latin poets now existed, affording materials for imitation. The cultivation of poetry, neglected during the period of political dissension and civil war, was now studied with redoubled affection. On the establishment of the throne of Augustus, a constellation of poets arose, more bright than the pleiades of Alexandria, and in the happy reign of the Cæsar; a deficiency in the literature of the Roman people was supplied by the appearance of great national bards, who created a body of classical works, in which Roman manners were painted, their warlike achievements commemorated, and their ancient Italian traditions preserved and handed down to posterity. The Roman historians¹ and poets were

¹ The particular and extraordinary kindness of Augustus to Livy has been already mentioned; see page 325.

enriched and courted by the emperor and great statesmen of his day, to whom national subjects were the most acceptable. The poetical style was still partly imitated from the Greeks, and the sentiments and descriptions were frequently borrowed; but the poetical productions of Rome were no longer translations, and the themes now selected were generally Roman exploits, and Italian traditions. The first in time as well as in dignity, who led the way in the path of literary national improvement, was

Virgil, who flourished 40 B. C.

From authentic resources extant, conveying certain information regarding the parentage of this "Prince of the Latin poets," it would appear, that his family had not any pretension to station or rank in Italy: this, however, is a matter, so far as Virgil is concerned, unworthy of a second consideration, his name being recorded in the brightest page of the book of immortality, among those who have conferred honour and dignity on mankind. He was born at Andes,¹ a village near Mantua, on the 15th of October, A. U. C. 684, about 70 B. C. His studies commenced at Cremona, where he remained till he assumed the Toga Virilis. At the age of sixteen he removed to Milan, and shortly afterwards went to reside at Naples. During his stay there, he was instructed in the language and literature of the Greeks by Parthenius Nicenus.² Virgil attentively perused the historians of Greece, and studied the Epicurean system of philosophy under Syro, a celebrated teacher of that sect; here he laid the foundation for that variety of knowledge displayed with such judgment in his *Æneid*. Nevertheless, mathematics and medicine, were the sciences to which he

¹ Andes, now Pietola.

² The author of a collection of amatory tales, which he wrote for Cornelius Gallus, to furnish him with materials for elegies, and other poems.

appears to have been most attached at this period; and to the former may in some degree be ascribed that order and arrangement, with regularity of thought, and exactness of expression, by which his poetical works were subsequently distinguished.

After he had finished his studies at Naples, it would appear that he returned to his native place, and to the care of his paternal farm. If, as is generally believed, he intended to describe his own life and character, under the name of Tityrus, in his first eclogue, it will then be evident that he did not visit Rome till after the battle of Philippi, and consequent division of lands among the soldiery. The action at Mutina was fought in 711; and the second triumvirate being soon afterwards formed, Asinius Pollio was appointed by Antony to take the command of the district in which Virgil's farm was situated. This commander, who was greedy of wealth, levied severe contributions on the inhabitants; and in some instances, when the pecuniary supplies could not be raised, he drove the ancient colonists from their lands, and settled his veterans in their place. Fortunately for Virgil, Pollio was fond of poetry, and a generous protector of literary men; the talents of our poet, combined with his prepossessing and amiable manners, recommended him to the protection of that powerful officer, and so long as he continued in command of the district of Mantua, Virgil was relieved from exaction, and protected in the peaceful possession of his farm.

As our poet at this time resided constantly in the country, and was captivated with the rural beauties of the *Idyllia* of Theocritus, he became ambitious to introduce a new species of poetry into his native land; accordingly he exerted his best endeavours, not only to imitate, but to rival the sweet Sicilian. The eclogue placed second in the editions of his works, and called *Alexis*, is believed to be his first pastoral production, and to have been written A. U. C. 711,

the year in which Pollio assumed the military command of the territory where Virgil resided. It was followed shortly by the *Daphnis*, *Silenus*, and *Palæmon*, in which he mentions the favour of Pollio, and expresses his gratitude for the patronage of that leader. The tranquillity which he enjoyed, however, under such protection was of short duration. Previously to the battle of Philippi, the triumvirs had promised to their soldiers the lands around some of the wealthiest towns of the commonwealth. Augustus, on his return to Italy in 712, after the victory at the former place, found it necessary to satisfy their claims by a division of lands in Italy, on a more extensive scale than he had at first contemplated. There were considerable territories in that country which had originally belonged to the state, extensive tracts of which had, from time to time, been appropriated by corporations and individuals who were naturally unwilling to be disturbed in their possession. Julius Cæsar had set an example of reclaiming these farms, and colonizing them with his legions, and his successor now undertook a similar, but more extensive distribution. In the middle and south of Italy, the lands were principally private inheritance; but in the north, they were chiefly public property, on which colonists had been in many instances recently settled; consequently these were the lands first assigned to the soldiery, and the district to the north of the Po was much affected by the partition. Cremona had unfortunately espoused the cause of Brutus, and thus particularly incurred the vengeance of the victorious party. As its territory was not found adequate to contain the veterans of the triumvirs, the deficiency came to be supplied from the neighbouring district of Mantua, in which the farm of Virgil was situated. The poet was dispossessed under circumstances of peculiar violence; for in attempting to dispute the possession of his fields, he was obliged to escape the fury of the centurion Arrius by swimming across the Mincius.¹

¹ The modern Mincio.

Fortunately he obtained the favour of A. Varus, with whom he had studied philosophy at Naples, and who succeeded Pollio in the command of the district. Under his protection our poet twice visited Rome, where he was favourably received, not only by Mæcenas, but also by Augustus, and from whom he obtained the restoration of his patrimony. This took place either in the commencement of the year 713 or 714; and in gratitude for the benefits he had received, he composed his eclogue called *Tityrus*, to thank his patron, and to prove that his kindness had not been unworthily bestowed. The remaining eclogues, or *bucolics*, were written in about one year and a half; and the whole of them, forming his composition in pastoral poetry, occupied him three years. Although written on his native fields, we neither find many delineations of Mantuan scenery, nor frequent allusions to the *Mincius* and its borders. His chief object was, to enrich his native language with a species of poetry formerly unknown to it; he therefore chose *Theocritus* as his model; making few attempts at invention, he claimed little more than the honour of being the first Roman who had imitated the Sicilian poet; hence he has not hesitated to borrow, not only the sentiments and images, but also the rural descriptions of his master.

The farm of Virgil was situated in a low and damp situation, that did not agree with his delicate constitution, or the pulmonary complaint with which he was threatened; he was therefore led, about the year 715, when he had reached the age of thirty, to seek a warmer climate; doubtless farther induced by his increasing celebrity, and the extension of his poetic fame; his countrymen being captivated by the novelty of pastoral composition, and the success with which he had transferred the soft Sicilian strains to a language, that, before his attempt, appeared but little adapted from its harshness to the delicacy of rural description; the

Bucolics were consequently admired by all classes of his contemporaries, and so universal was their popularity, that the philosophic eclogue of Silenus, soon after its composition, was recited in the public theatre by the celebrated Mima Cytheris. On leaving his paternal home, Virgil first visited the capital; and here his private fortune was much increased through the munificent liberality of Mæcenas; and so highly did he stand with his patron, that shortly after his arrival at Rome, he introduced Horace to the notice of the minister, and attended him along with that poet on a political mission to Brundisium. Our poet was also held in such esteem by the emperor, that it is said he never asked anything from Augustus which was refused. The bustle of an immense capital was little suited, however, to the taste or early habits of Virgil, while the observance and attention he met with were repugnant to the retiring modesty of his disposition. So great was his popularity, that on one occasion, when some of his verses were recited in the public theatre, the whole audience rose up to salute the poet with the same respect they would have paid to the emperor. About this period, Naples had become a favourite retreat of illustrious and literary men, and there Virgil retired A.U.C. 717, continuing during his life to live principally in that city, or at a delightful villa which he possessed in the Campania Felix, near Nola, ten miles east of Naples. He now commenced his inimitable poem, the Georgics, at the desire of his patron Mæcenas, to revive the taste for agriculture, apparently going out of fashion, and which continued to occupy him for the seven following years. During this period, he was in the habit of dictating a number of verses in the morning, and correcting or reducing them to a smaller number in the afterpart of the day; comparing this part of his labour to that of a she-bear, which licks her mis-shapen offspring into proper form and proportion.

Having successfully completed his unrivalled poem, the

Georgics, he now commenced his great work, the *Æneid*, A.U.C. 724, the same year he had finished the *Georgics*, and which occupied him eleven years, or to the time of his death. After he had been engaged some time in its composition, great curiosity and interest were felt regarding it at Rome; it being generally believed, that a poem was in progress which would eclipse the fame of the *Iliad*. The emperor himself at length became desirous to read the part completed, and accordingly wrote to the author from the extremity of his dominions, while on a military expedition against the Cantabrians, soliciting the favour of a perusal. Macrobius has preserved to us one of Virgil's answers to the applications of Augustus: "I have of late received from you frequent letters. In regard to my *Æneas*, if it were worth your listening to, I should willingly send it. But so vast is the undertaking, that I almost appear to myself to have commenced such a work from some defect of judgment or understanding; especially as you know other and far higher talents are required for such a performance." Prevailed on subsequently by these importunities, our poet, about a year after the return of Augustus, recited to him the sixth book, in presence of his sister Octavia, who had shortly before lost her only son, Marcellus, the favourite of the Roman people, and the adopted child of the emperor. It is probable, that Virgil, in the prospect of this recitation, inserted the following pathetic lamentation for the death of Marcellus: —

This youth on earth the fates but just display,
And soon, too soon, they snatch the gift away!
Had Rome for ever held the glorious prize,
Her bliss had rais'd the envy of the skies!
Ah! from the martial field what cries shall come!
What groans shall echo through the streets of Rome!
How shall old Tyber, from his oozy bed,
In that sad moment rear his rev'rend head,

The length'ning pomp and funeral to survey,
When by the mighty tomb he takes his mournful way !
A youth of nobler hopes shall never rise,
Nor glad like him the Latian Father's eyes ;
And Rome, proud Rome, shall boast, she never bore,
From age to age, so brave a son before !
Honour and fame, alas ! and ancient truth,
Revive and die with that illustrious youth !
In vain embattled troops his arms oppose,
In every field he tames his country's foes ;
Whether on foot he marches in his might,
Or spurs his fiery courser to the fight.
Poor pitied youth ! the glory of the state !
Oh ! couldst thou shun the dreadful stroke of fate,
Rome should in thee behold, with ravish'd eyes,
Her pride, her darling, her Marcellus rise !

At hearing these beautiful lines on the death of her son, the princess fainted away. The poet had most judiciously suppressed the name of Marcellus to the last; and when he uttered it in the line "Tu Marcellus eris, &c.," the widowed mother could bear no more. Octavia, however, munificently rewarded him with the present of a sum equivalent to two thousand pounds of our money.

Having brought the *Æneid* to a conclusion, although not to the perfection which he desired, Virgil, against the advice and wish of his friends, determined to travel in Greece, for the purpose of polishing his great work in that land of poetical imagination. He therefore proceeded directly to Athens, where he commenced its revisal, and added the splendid introduction to his third book of the *Georgics*. Having been thus engaged for some months, the arrival of Augustus in that city, on his return to Italy from a progress through his eastern dominions, induced the poet to shorten his stay, and embrace the opportunity of returning home in the suite of the emperor. When he embarked for Greece,

it was the wish of Virgil to pass three years in that country to embellish his epic poem, after which he intended to pass his days in his native place near Mantua, and devote his remaining years to the study of philosophy, or the composition of some great philosophical work. The hand of death, however, was upon him. He had always been of a delicate constitution; and as age advanced he was afflicted with frequent headaches, difficulty of breathing, and spitting of blood, which symptoms had become worse during his residence in Greece. The vessel in which he embarked with the emperor, touched at Megara, where he experienced great debility and langour; and when he returned on board, his complaints were so increased by the motion of the ship, that after he had landed at Brundisium, on the south-eastern coast of Italy, he expired in a few days, on the 22nd of September, A.U.C. 734, in the fifty-first year of his age. When he felt his last moments approaching, he requested his friends, Varius and Tucca, who were then with him, to burn the *Æneid* as an imperfect poem. Augustus here interposed to save a work which he foresaw would not only confer immortality on the poet, but likewise on the sovereign who patronized him. It was therefore intrusted to Varius and Tucca, with a power to revise and retrench, combined with a strict charge that they should make no additions, a command which they so carefully observed as not to complete even the hemisticks, or half-verses left unfinished.

The larger portion of his wealth, which was great, Virgil bequeathed to his brother; the remainder was divided between Mecænas, Varius, and Tucca. Before his death he had directed that his bones should be carried to Naples, where he had lived long and happily; this desire was fulfilled under the charge of Augustus himself. Agreeably to ancient tradition, and the usually received opinion, the tomb of the poet lies about a mile-and-a-half to the north

of Naples, on the slope of the hill of Pausilippo, and over the entrance to the subterranean passage cut through the rising ground on the road from Naples to Puteoli.¹ It is a small square flat-roofed building, and at one time had in a recess an urn, in which it was believed that the ashes of Virgil were contained.²

Virgil was the professed imitator and rival of Theocritus in pastoral poetry; his images are Greek, and the scenery such as he found exhibited in the pages of the Sicilian poet, not what he had observed on the banks of the Mincius. Still, with all the resemblance, the productions of the two poets are very different. The scenes and descriptions of Theocritus exhibit a minuteness and accuracy which combine poetic truth and reality; his portraits have all the charms of liveliness with variety, while each rural figure is distinctly drawn, and stands out in a defined and certain form. In Virgil, however, there is a want of discrimination of character, the failing so frequently remarked in the *Æneid*; his swains too much resemble each other; his shepherds are not distinguished by any peculiar disposition, they all speak from the mouth of the poet, and their dialogue is modelled by the standard of his own cultivated and elegant mind. The great merit of Virgil's imitations, consists in his judicious selections: the sketches of rural manners by the Greek, are frequently coarse and unpleasing; the Latin poet has refined all that was gross, and thrown aside all that was superfluous. The Rev. Doctor Warton has correctly observed, that when the Romans excelled their Grecian originals, it was in dressing up and adorning those thoughts

¹ Puteoli, the modern Pozzuoli.

² Pietro Stefana, an Italian writer of the sixteenth century, and Olaus Wormius, mention that they had seen this urn, with the following epitaph inscribed on it, said to be written by Virgil himself a few minutes before he expired.

Mantua me genuit ; Calabri rapuere ; tenet nunc

Parthenope : Cecini pascua, rura, duces.

and ideas which they found already prepared for them. The excellence of Virgil's eclogues or bucolics, appears to have been regarded by his countrymen as precluding all attempts of a similar description; for no swains were taught by any subsequent poet to touch the rustic pipe, unless we except Capurnius, who made a feeble effort in the later ages of Roman literature.

On the revival of learning in Italy, pastoral poetry was one of the earliest efforts of the awakened muse; Naiads, Fauns, and Satyrs were, as Dr. Johnson remarks, always within call. In modern as in ancient times, the writers of this description of poetry have nearly all followed the first leader to the accustomed glades and pastures, without ever looking abroad themselves upon the face of nature. Theocritus and Virgil have been constantly followed; the latter, chiefly because the imitation of refined art is more easy than that of native beauty. The character of Virgil's genius was evidently better qualified to embellish than to create; he adorned, by the aid of an elegant taste, the thoughts of others, and bestowed on them, by dignity of versification and choice of expression, a majesty and sweetness of which they were not before possessed. It was far from a correct system, because Virgil copied from Theocritus, that subsequent pastoral writers should appear to consider it a literary transgression to introduce novelty into their compositions; following everywhere the track of the Mantuan bard, and continuing a set of hereditary names, conventional terms and images from one poet to another, without regard to the differences of times or climates. Swains have been brought from Sicily or Arcadia, swans from the Mæander or Min-cius, and deities from Greece or Italy. We find the shepherds in Pope's pastorals yielding thanks to Ceres for a plenteous harvest, and proposing to sacrifice a milk white bull to Apollo; and the *Idyllia* of Gesner, so much praised by Florian, Blair, and Heyne, abounding with the incon-

gruities of fauns, satyrs, and dryads. Now although Theocritus is sometimes too coarse, and Virgil, particularly in his eclogues, somewhat too refined; still they are the best guides for the pastoral poet; he must not, however, follow them with slavish imitation, but contemplate and study nature itself, without overlooking his country, climate, and the rural scenes and manners he may wish to delineate.

The eclogues of Virgil are ten in number. In the first, which is considered the standard of pastoral poetry, a beautiful landscape presents itself to view. A shepherd, with his flock around him, rests securely under a spreading beech; another, in quite a different situation of mind and circumstances, being obliged to deliver up his farm to others, represents the calamities of his Mantuan neighbours; the sun is setting, and the more fortunate shepherd is pressing his hospitality on the latter:—

Yet here this night at least with me reclin'd,
On the green leaves an humble welcome find;
Ripe apples, chesnuts soft my fields afford,
And cheese in plenty loads my rural board.

This first pastoral was written out of gratitude to Augustus, who restored to the poet his farm, taken from him under circumstances already mentioned. Although several passages are translated from Theocritus, the subject has been altered and rendered interesting, by painting the effects of war on the tranquillity of rural life. Virgil, under the name of Tityrus, in reply to Melibœus thus acknowledges the goodness of Augustus:—

O 'twas a god these blessings, swain, bestow'd,
For still by me he shall be deem'd a god!
For him the tend'rest of my fleecy breed
Shall oft in solemn sacrifices bleed.
He gave my oxen, as thou seest, to stray,
And me at ease my fav'rite strains to play.

In the true spirit of a pastoral poet, Virgil has brought together in the following lines a delightful assemblage of rural images.

Happy old man ! here 'mid the 'custom'd streams
And sacred springs, you'll shun the scorching beams ;
While from yon willow fence, thy pastures bound,
The bees that suck their flowr'y stores around,
Shall sweetly mingle with the whisp'ring boughs
Their lulling murmurs, and invite repose.
While from steep rocks the pruner's song is heard ;
Nor the soft cooing dove, thy fav'rite bird,
Meanwhile shall cease to breathe her melting strain,
Nor turtle from the ariel elm to 'plain.

In the second eclogue the commentators are not agreed on the person of Alexis, but are of opinion that some beautiful youth is meant, to whom Virgil addresses his pastoral in Corydon's language with rustic simplicity, copied from the Cyclops of Theocritus. He complains of the boy's bashfulness, commends him for his beauty and skill on the pipe, invites him into the country, where he promises the diversions of the place, with a suitable present of nuts and apples. The Rev. Doctor Trapp observes, "that there is neither a loose nor immodest idea in the whole piece; which means nothing more than platonic love of the beauties both of body and mind, or excess of friendship, or rather of both." The third eclogue exhibits a contest between two shepherds, in what the critics call Amœbæan verse. In this mode of reciting, the persons are represented as speaking alternately; the latter always endeavouring to excel, if not at least equal, what has been said by the former, and in the same number of lines, in which if he fail he loses the victory. Damoetus and Menalcas, after some smart strokes of rustic raillery, resolve to contend for the prize of two bowls or cups. They boast of their respective mistresses, sing the praises of Pollio, &c., appointing their neighbour Pa-

læmon judge of their performances, who, after hearing both parties, declares himself unfit for the decision of so weighty a controversy, and leaves the victory undetermined. In this pastoral, the Latin poet has closely imitated his Greek predecessor, and it is the only one in which he has copied the coarseness of his original, causing his shepherds to upbraid each other with thefts and other vices.

The fourth eclogue is written in a tone of such elevation as to be rejected by some commentators, from the number of bucolic compositions; it certainly exhibits the highest species of allegorical pastoral. It is usually called Pollio, from being addressed to Asinius Pollio, the early patron of the poet. This eclogue announces, as is well known, in a strain of mysterious and prophetic fervour, the birth of a child, under whose future rule the golden age was to be restored in Italy. In almost every nation, at periods of severe calamity, prophecies have been promulgated promising a new and happier order of things. This was particularly the case during the distractions of civil war, and their attendant miseries, towards the close of the Roman Republic; and of the various prophecies those of the Cumæan Sibyl were the most celebrated. Regarding the child actually meant by the poet, the critics have never been able to come to any agreement. However excellent Virgil's talents were as a poet, he has little claim to be looked upon in the light of a prophet; and his announcement is delivered in such a manner, that the child alluded to may mean one of several, or none of them, the total uncertainty of his subject requiring the virtue of resignation in any one feeling much interest in the matter. The poet has confined the advantages of his golden age to those persons in the condition of shepherds; the steer is to be unyoked, and the pruning-hook laid aside, while honey drops from the sweating oak, and milk bedews the fields. In the days of this poet, the trading and manufacturing interests were not of sufficient conse-

quence to have the prospect of any particular favours held out to them.

The fifth eclogue begins by two expert shepherds, Mopsus and Menalcas, composing a song to the memory of Daphnis. The allegorical subject of this bucolic has also been a matter of difficulty and discussion. It is supposed by the best critics, that Julius Cæsar is here represented under the character of Daphnis; Mopsus laments his death, and Menalcas proclaims his divinity: the eclogue consisting of an elegy and an apotheosis. If this opinion be correct, it must greatly have recommended the author to the favour of Augustus. However this may be, the eclogue is one of the most elegant and pleasing of the number, and has stood to all succeeding ages as the model of pastoral elegies; the imitations of it have been almost numberless. The sixth eclogue is addressed by Virgil to Varus, his friend and fellow-student under Syro, the Epicurean philosopher. Two shepherds are introduced, who having often been promised a song from Silenus, happen to catch him asleep in a grotto; they bind him hand and foot, and then claim the performance of his promise. Silenus, finding that they would not be put off any longer, begins by giving an account of the formation of the universe, and the origin of animals, according to the system of Epicurus; he also recounts Deucalion's deluge, the reign of Saturn, and some of the celebrated fables and transformations of the primeval world. That part of the eclogue which describes the creation is taken from the *Argonautics* of Apollonius Rhodius; the original lines, however, are greatly vivified and improved by Virgil.¹ In his address to Varus, the poet says,

To write thy praises, Varus, and thy wars,
My past'ral muse her humble tribute brings;

¹ The sixth eclogue, or *Silenus*, has been parodied in the last pastoral, or "Saturday," of Gay's "Shepherd's Week."

And yet not wholly uninspir'd she sings.
For all who read, and reading not disdain
These rural poems, and their lowly strain,
The name of Varus oft inscrib'd shall see,
In ev'ry grove, and ev'ry vocal tree;
And all the sylvan reign shall sing of thee.
Thy name, to Phœbus and the Muses known,
Shall in the front of ev'ry page be shown;
For he who sings thy praise secures his own.

The seventh eclogue is a poetical contest between two shepherds, Thyrsis and Corydon, in Amœbæan verse, related by Melibœus, in imitation of the fifth and eighth Idyllia of Theocritus, at which he and Daphnis were present, who both decide in favor of Corydon. This eclogue has an agreeable variety from the difference of genius and temper of the two shepherds; Corydon views everything with a favourable aspect, while Thyrsis presents us with unpleasant images. It has been supposed, that in this and other Amœbæan eclogues Virgil intends to represent, under the character of the contending shepherds, the two young slaves, Alexander, who was his Alexis and Cebes, both of whom he had instructed in grammar and poetry; but there is far too much uncertainty regarding the persons whom the poet meant to figure under his pastoral characters, to enable us to arrive at a decided conclusion. The eighth eclogue, entitled Pharmaceutria, is valuable, independently of its poetical beauty, for the account it gives us of the superstitious rites and practices of ancient sorcery. The enchantments described in this pastoral have been imitated in the *Arcadia del Sannazoro*, a book to which Sir Philip Sidney in his *Arcadia* has been much indebted. The first part of this eclogue is imitated from the third Idyl of Theocritus, and contains the lamentations of Damon for the loss of his mistress Nisa, with his repinings at the success of his rival Mopsus. In the other portion, borrowed from

the second Idyl of the same poet, the shepherd Alpheus recites the magic charms of a sorceress, who attempted by her incantations to regain the lost affections of Daphnis, and allure him to her arms; it is this concluding part which gives a name to the bucolic.

The ninth eclogue gives us some insight into the difficulties which Virgil had to contend with in early life. When, by the favour of Augustus, he had recovered his patrimony near Mantua, and went to take possession, he was in danger of being killed by Arrius, the centurion, if he had not escaped by swimming across the Mincius, as already mentioned. The poet, prudently yielding to the force of circumstances, departed for Rome, charging the person who had the care of his farm, to offer no resistance, but to comply with the orders of Arrius, as if he were his legitimate master, as these lands had actually been assigned to him. It is perhaps needless to mention here, that Virgil's patrimony was again restored by the mandate of the emperor, who also loaded him with wealth and honours. The scene of this pastoral, however, is laid in the interim. Moeris, the bailiff of Virgil, is introduced, carrying his kids from the farm to Mantua, for the benefit of the intrusive centurion. Lycides, a neighbouring shepherd, fond of poetry, meets him on the way. The former makes a complaint of the distresses of the times, and recounts his own misfortunes, with those of his master, under the name of Menalcas, which turns the discourse to his poems, and each rehearses some fragments of his verses. These lines, although unconnected, are some of the happiest imitations from Theocritus. In the tenth eclogue, the poet introduces one of his friends and patrons, Gallus, reclining under a solitary rock in Arcadia, bewailing the inconstancy of his mistress, the beautiful Cytheris, called Lycoris, a celebrated actress, who had left him to follow an officer into Germany. Gallus was then young, and felt deeply the desertion of

this woman. Virgil represents him in a languishing condition, with the swains of Arcadia, the rural deities, and even Apollo himself, coming to visit him, and vainly endeavouring to console him during his affliction, as they attempt with Daphnis, in Theocritus. In the address of Gallus to the shepherds, he wishes that his lot had been humble, like theirs; and then, in his pathetic expostulations with his mistress, he presents a picture of the sufferings to which his unhappy passion had exposed him. The different resolutions of a desponding lover are successively described; he first thinks of renewing his poetical studies, then determines to quit the world for some hidden retirement, where he may console himself by carving the name of Lycoris on the trees; he next resolves to occupy himself with the amusements of the chase; but at length concludes, with a sigh, that none of these occupations will cure his passion. There are some very beautiful and touching lines in this pastoral, particularly where the lover exclaims—

Here cooling fountains roll through flow'ry meads;
 Here woods, Lycoris! lift their verdant heads;
 Here could I wear my careless life away,
 And in thy arms insensibly decay.¹

The next poem of Virgil, in the order of time, is called the Georgics, and is as remarkable for splendour and elegance of diction, as his eclogues are for sweetness and harmony of versification. It has justly been considered as the most complete and finished didactic poem in the Latin, or any other language. The choice of his subject, that of agriculture, afforded less expectation of eminent success than his pastorals; the difficulties, however, were vanquished by the genius and talent of this illustrious poet. Rome, from its local situation,² was not well-adapted for commerce;

¹ Happily imitated by Lord Lyttleton, in his fourth eclogue.

² Rome is seated on the Tiber, which falls into the Mediterranean, eighteen miles below the city; Civita-Vecchia, the port of Rome,

and from the time of Romulus to that of Cæsar, agriculture had been carefully attended to by the Roman people; after the art of war it was their second grand object; its operations were conducted by the greatest statesmen, and its precepts inculcated by the most profound scholars. The sad ravages of the civil wars, with their long continuance, had at this time occasioned a melancholy state of rural desolation. Italy was in a measure depopulated of husbandmen. The soldiers by whom the lands were now occupied, proved very indifferent cultivators of the soil; and in consequence of the farms lying waste, the symptoms of famine and insurrection made their appearance. Under such circumstances, the wise Mæcenas resolved, if possible, to revive the spirit of agriculture, to recall habits of peaceful industry; and to make rural improvements, as in former times, the chief amusement among the great; and it was agreeably to his request, that Virgil wrote his *Georgics*.

Although written with a patriotic object, to promote the welfare of his country, and on a subject peculiarly Roman, the imitative spirit of Latin poetry still prevailed, and the author could not avoid recurring to a Grecian model, the "*Works and the Days*" of Hesiod being the pattern which he has chiefly kept in view. In reference to this imitation, he himself calls his *Georgics* an Ascrean poem, from the country of Hesiod. It is chiefly, however, in the first and second books, where Virgil discourses on tillage and planting, that he has imitated the "*Works and Days*," and copied some of the minute precepts of agriculture, as well as the

is about thirty-two miles distant. In the end of August, 1829, when the author first visited Naples, he went by a steam boat, called the *Teverone*, from the custom-house at Rome; on approaching Ostia, and the mouth of the Tiber, the water became so shallow, that there was barely sufficient depth at full tide to get out of the river. The passage was made in twenty-seven hours.

injunctions for the superstitious observance of particular days. The ancient Greek poet has not treated of the breeding of cattle, or the care of bees, which form the subjects of the third and fourth books of the Roman author, whose rules regarding cattle have been taken from the works of the ancient agricultural writers of his own country. Virgil commences with proposing the subject of the four books of his poem, and then easily slides into an invocation of such deities as were considered likely to aid him in the execution of it. He says,

What culture crowns the laughing fields with corn,
Beneath what heav'nly signs the glebe to turn,
Round the tall elm how circling vines to lead,
The care of oxen, cattle how to breed,
What wondrous arts to frugal bees belong,—
Mecænas, are the objects of my song.
Lights of the world! ye brightest orbs on high,
Who lead the sliding year around the sky!
Bacchus and Ceres,¹ by whose gifts divine,
Man chang'd the chrystal stream for purple wine,
For rich and foodful corn Chaonian mast;
Ye fauns and virgin dryads hither haste;
Ye deities, who aid industrious swains,
Your gifts I sing! facilitate the strains!

Here the poet commences a fine address to Augustus, asking him whether he would choose to be the god of earth, sea, or heaven.

And thou, thou chief, whose seat among the gods
Is yet unchosen in the blest abodes,
Wilt thou, great Cæsar, o'er the earth preside,
Protect her cities, and her empires guide?
Or over boundless ocean wilt thou reign,
Smooth the wild billows of the roaring main,
While utmost Thule shall thy nod obey

¹ The invocation of Varro proceeds in the same manner.

To thee in shipwrecks shiv'ring sailors pray?
Or wilt thou mount a splendid sign on high,
Betwixt the Maid and Scorpion deck the sky?
Look kindly down! my invocation hear!
Assist my course, and urge my bold career;
Pity with me the simple ploughman's cares,
Now, now assume the god, and learn to hear our pray'rs.

The poet then proceeds to the preparation of the inert mass of earth, and the sowing of grain; the instruments of husbandmen, the proper seasons for their various labours, the prognostics of the weather, the prodigies that attended the death of Julius Cæsar, closing the first book with a supplication to the gods for the safety of Augustus, and the preservation of Rome. The second book treats of planting, and the various ways in which trees are produced, both by nature and art; their variety, or different species and sorts, and how they are to be managed; what soils are most suitable to each, from whence he naturally digresses into an encomium on the soils and productions of Italy; the method of discovering the nature of each soil; the culture of the vine, the olive, and other trees; and concludes the second book with the praises of a country life, thus—

Happy the man, whose vig'rous soul can pierce
Through the formation of the universe!
Who nobly dares despise, with soul sedate,
The din of Acheron, and vulgar fears, and fate.
And happy too, though humble, is the man,
Who loves Sylvanus old, the Nymphs, and Pan;
Nor power, nor purple pomp his thoughts engage,
Nor courts and kings, nor faithless brothers' rage,
Nor falls of nations, nor affairs of Rome,
Nor Dacian's leagu'd in arms, near rapid Ister's foam.
He weeps no wretch's pitiable state,
Nor looks with pining envy on the great.

The loaded trees, the willing fields afford
Unpurchas'd banquets for his temp'rate board.
The noisy people's rage he never saw,
Nor frauds and cruelties of iron law.
Some brave the tempests of the roaring main,
Or rush to dangers, toils, and blood for gain;
Some ravage lands, or crowded cities burn,
Nor heed how many helpless widows mourn,
To satiate mad ambition's wild desire,
To quaff in gems, or sleep on silks of Tyre.
This, to solicit smiles of kings resorts,
Deep practis'd in the dark cabals of courts;
This low in earth conceals his ill-got store,
Hov'ring and brooding on his useless ore.
One doats with fondness on the rostrum's fame,
To gain the prize of eloquence his aim.
The people's and patrician's loud applause
To crowded theatres another draws.
Some shed a brother's blood, and trembling run
To distant lands beneath another sun;
Condemn'd in hopeless exile far to roam
From their sweet country, and their sacred home.
The happier peasant yearly ploughs the plains,
His country thus, his household hence sustains;
His milky droves, his much deserving steers,
Each season brings him, in the circling years,
Or blushing apples, or increase of kine,
Or bursts his barns with Ceres' gifts divine.
Prest are his Sicilian olives in the mills
His swine with fatt'ning mast the forest fills,
In winter wild; and yellow autumn crowns
With various fruits his farms and smiling grounds,
While ev'ry rocky mountain's sunny side
The melting grapes with livid ripeness hide.
He feels the father's and the husband's bliss,
His infant's climb, and struggle for a kiss;

His modest house strict chastity maintains,
Nor breach of marriage-vows his nuptials stains;
Fat are the kine, with milk o'erflow the pails,
His kids in sportive battles skim the vales.
The jocund master keeps the solemn days,
To thee, great Bacchus, due libations pays;
Around the cheerful hearth unbends his soul,
And crowns amid his friends the flowing bowl;
Distributes prizes to the strong-nerv'd swains,
Who best can dart, or wrestle on the plains.

The introduction to the third book is by an invocation to the rural deities, and a compliment to Augustus; after which the poet addresses himself to Mæcenas, and then delivers his precepts for the breeding and management of horses, oxen, sheep, goats, and dogs; also cautions regarding things pernicious to cattle, particularly serpents, murrain, fevers, and the plague; with a moving description of the latter, Virgil concludes this book. The digressions in this part of the work are more frequent than in the others, such as the description of the chariot race, the loves of the animals, the battle of the bulls, the Scythian winter, &c. In the fourth and last book, the poet having treated of many animals, now selects that interesting and prudent little insect the bee for his subject, and devotes nearly the whole book to its description. He treats of a proper station for bees; of their gathering honey, swarms, and battles, their wisdom, civil prudence, and government; of the time proper for taking their honey, of the complaints incident to them, the signs and remedies, with the method of repairing the race when the breed is lost. Here the author introduces the episode of Aristæus¹ and Proteus, with the reasons assigned for the

¹ Aristæus was the son of Apollo and the nymph Cyrene; according to the fable, he learned from the nymphs the cultivation of olives and the management of bees. He ultimately settled in Greece, where he married a daughter of Cadmus. Falling in love with

loss of the bees of the former, artfully introducing the story of Orpheus and his wife Eurydice, with whose unhappy fate the poet concludes his consummate work.

The arrangement of Virgil in this didactic poem is the most natural, and carries his reader along with him. The accuracy and value of his precepts were considered so great, that Columella justly mentions him as an agricultural oracle. His advice on matters even of trivial importance is delivered with dignity and elegance, a talent which is one of the most difficult arts of poetry, but which no one ever better understood than Virgil. It is in the beauty of his episodes, however, that this poet particularly excels. The finest passages of Lucretius are those in which he correctly paints

Eurydice, the wife of Orpheus; as he pursued her in the fields she was bitten in the foot by a serpent, and died, for which the gods destroyed all the bees of Aristæus. In this calamity he applied to his mother, who directed him to seize the sea-god Proteus, and consult him how he might repair the loss he had sustained. Proteus advised him to appease the manes of Eurydice, by the sacrifice of four bulls and four heifers; and as soon as he had done so, and left them in the air, swarms of bees immediately sprang from the bodies, and restored Aristæus to his former prosperity. Orpheus, inconsolable for the loss of Eurydice, determined to recover her, or perish in the attempt. With his lyre in his hand, he entered the infernal regions, and gained an easy admission to the palace of Pluto, who was charmed with the melody of his strains; and according to the beautiful expressions of the poet, the wheel of Ixion stopped, the stone of Sisyphus stood still, Tantalus forgot his perpetual thirst, and even the Furies relented. Pluto and Proserpine were moved with his sorrow, and consented to restore his wife, provided he forbore looking behind him till he got beyond the borders of their kingdom. The conditions were gladly accepted; and Orpheus was already in sight of the upper regions, when, forgetful of his promise, he turned round to look at his long-lost Eurydice; he saw her, but she instantly vanished, and he lost her for ever.

the charms of virtue, and the happiness of moderation and contentment; in like manner, the noblest verses of Virgil are his invocations to the gods, his addresses to Augustus, his account of the prodigies before the death of Julius Cæsar, and his description of Italy. It is evident in these passages that he contends with Lucretius, and endeavours to surpass him. The verses of Virgil are more polished and even; in his theological opinions more calm and resigned; those of Lucretius are more bold and simple, with harsher outlines, in his opinions exhibiting a determined air of self-confidence, and a tone of defiance. Imitations of the Georgics are to be found in the earliest poets who appeared after the revival of learning, viz., Politian, Vaniere, Alamanni, Rucellai, Rapin, Delille, Roucher, &c. It has been observed by the Rev. Doctor Warton, that of all our English poems, Philip's Cyder, which is a close imitation of the Georgics, conveys to us the best idea of Virgil's manner, this author having copied him throughout. It is also to the Roman poet that Thomson has been so much indebted for his fame; in his Seasons he has sometimes brought together different passages from the Georgics, at others he translates straight-forward. In his Spring, he has copied from Lucretius, but more closely from Virgil, the description of the golden age, and the desires which the early season excites in the lower animals; in his Summer, circumstances of the thunder-storm are borrowed, and from the praises of Italy the panegyric on Great Britain; the ideas in his Autumn, on a philosophical life, are all taken from the Mantuan bard.

The *Æneid*, the last and greatest work of Virgil, belongs to a more noble class of poetry than the Georgics, and has been carried to an equal degree of perfection by its author. In the two higher species of poetry, the dramatic and epic, different methods are used for the instruction of mankind. The first is employed to show the deformity and destructive consequences of vice, and the evils arising from

violent and uncontrolled passions; such is the design of tragedy. The second, to display the beauty and excellence of virtue, its desirable fruits, and happy consequences; this is the business of the epopœa. The emotions raised by the former, are terror and pity; by the latter, admiration and love. In the one, the actors speak; in the other, the poet himself makes the narration: a circumstance which inclines Aristotle to give the preference to dramatic, above epic poetry, as a more natural and forcible species of imitation. As Greece consisted of a number of little Republics, frequently contending for superiority over each other, Homer, as true a patriot as he was a great poet, exhibited in lively colours and forcible examples to his countrymen, the dreadful calamities occasioned by a quarrel between two great generals, and the advantages which the enemies of Greece obtained by so unfortunate a contention. This, which is the ground-work of the *Iliad*, renders the fable of that poem simple but comprehensive; Aristotle, struck with the beauty of this simplicity, calls it divine. The different condition of affairs at Rome obliged Virgil to adopt another plan. Vast wealth had flowed in upon his countrymen, the spoils of all nations; the noble simplicity and virtue of the Romans had fallen before its corrupting influence, and the natural consequences were developing themselves, those of profligacy and slavery. A long period of civil war, attended by its usual train of misfortunes, and proving that his countrymen had become unable to govern themselves, was just terminated; the miseries of which were likely to be healed under the paternal and beneficent sway of an emperor, or supreme head, whose talents were accompanied with profound and elegant acquirements; and the happiest circumstance they could meet with was, that this governor should be a mild one, while holding the power of the state with a firm hand. To reconcile the Romans to such a necessary change of government, and to inspire them with a love of their country,

were the chief motives which induced the poet to undertake the *Æneid*; and in the instructions he delivers to his countrymen, we find him delineating, in the person of *Æneas*, the character of a wise lawgiver and a just monarch; also representing him endued with piety to the gods, mildness, clemency, justice, and an affectionate concern for his country.

It is evident, that Virgil, in his magnificent poem, meant, not merely to deduce the descent of Augustus and the Romans from *Æneas* and his companions, but also, by creating a perfect character in his hero, gratefully to exhibit the eminent qualities of his imperial patron, from whom he had experienced such munificent generosity, and to suggest that he was the ruler of the world, announced of old by the prophecies and oracles of the Saturnian land. In the sixth book, the poet says—

Turn, turn thine eyes! see here thy race divine,
Behold thy own Imperial Roman line;
Cæsar, with all the Julian name, survey;
See where the glorious ranks ascend to day!
This, this is he! the chief so long foretold
To bless the land where Saturn rul'd of old,
And give the Lernean realms a second age of gold!
The promis'd prince, Augustus the divine,
Of Cæsar's race, and Jove's immortal line!
This mighty chief his empire shall extend
O'er Indian realms, to earth's remotest end.

It is impossible to read the *Æneid*, and study the historical character of Augustus, or the events of his reign, to doubt that *Æneas* is an allegorical representation of that emperor. The qualities of both are those of cool reflection, and political wisdom; although careful observers of portents and dreams. *Æneas* is distinguished for his filial tenderness; and the boast of Augustus was his piety towards

his adoptive father Julius Cæsar, from whom he inherited the empire. Venus was the mother of Æneas, and from her the Julian line was also descended, according to tradition; "Venus genetrix" being their word in battle. Augustus was also very proud of his supposed Trojan descent, and of the real antiquity and nobleness of his house. He peculiarly felt, as all men of genius who possess such good fortune do feel, the ennobling sensations which arise from being the descendant of a long line of glorious ancestry; and which often enable individuals so situated to bear with resignation, and overcome by energy and exertion, difficulties and trials under which men of meaner minds succumb. It was in naval engagements that Augustus was principally successful, and crushed the power of his formidable rivals, Sextus Pompey and Mark Antony; consequently Æneas is represented through the poem as the favourite of Neptune, who on every occasion extends to him at sea his aid and protection. There are many other actions of Augustus, and events in his reign, typified in the incidents of the *Æneid*. The wars of Æneas in the concluding books, are also a representation of those of Augustus; particularly where the circumstances attending the assault by the Trojans on the capital of king Latinus, in the twelfth and last book of this poem, correspond exactly with those of the siege of Perusia,¹ which successfully terminated the war of Augustus in Italy against Fulvia and Lucius Antony, the wife and brother of the triumvir.

The African queen, Dido, represents Cleopatra of Egypt, who employed all her artifices in vain to captivate the heart of Augustus. The poetical, like the historical princess, is delineated as bold, passionate, and dissembling, endued, however, with the royal virtues of liberality and courtesy; neither of them young, and both at last seeking, in voluntary death, a refuge from the stings of hopeless passion, and disappointed

¹ The modern Perugia.

ambition. Turnus is Antony. It is curious to observe how tenderly the Latin poets mention this grand enemy of Augustus; the same feeling being remarkable in the writings of Horace, who, in his Odes, casts all the odium upon Cleopatra, and spares her infatuated lover. In like manner, the darker shades are kept out of the character of Turnus; he is represented as a bold warrior, and an ardent lover, while his defects are overlooked in his frankness, generosity, and daring courage. Evander, the ancient friend of Anchises, and ally of Æneas, typifies the old Cæsareans who joined Augustus against Antony. Achates is Agrippa; Lavinia, Livia; Latinus, Lepidus; and the violent Amata is Fulvia, the wife of Antony, who by her turbulence incensed the people against the emperor, and caused the war of Perusia. Cicero is represented by the wretched vituperative declaimer Drances; he is severely characterised by Virgil as a coward in the field, a boastful, malignant, chattering, abusive lawyer. The faults exhibited are not unlike those which Cicero's enemies accused him of in his lifetime. His enmity to Turnus, who is Antony, confirms the opinion; besides, the orator is further alluded to as of illustrious birth by his mother's side, but of unknown or uncertain descent by the father's, which was Cicero's case. It is quite evident, that the immortal poet had no feelings or sentiments in common with those of the deceased lawyer. By Lapis is meant Antonius Musa, the physician of Augustus, an elegant scholar, and fond of poetical studies, which latter he in some measure relinquished to devote himself to his profession. Ascanius, the son of Æneas, commonly styled Iulus, is intended to represent the younger members of the reigning family, as are also Euryalus, Pallas, and Lausus. The lamentations of Evander, and the widowed mother of Euryalus, shadow out the griefs of Augustus and his sister Octavia. The other leading men of his own time were portrayed under the disguise of Trojan heroes; and even at the present day

we easily recognise in the chiefs who contended at the funeral games of Anchises, (the father of Æneas,) and of those who fought on the Trojan and Rutulian side, the names and origin of many of the most illustrious Roman families. It is not difficult to account for that depth of esteem and love with which his countrymen regarded Virgil, when we consider the gratifying compliments which he paid to his contemporaries on their genealogies and family seats. The ancient Romans, above all people who have ever lived, were proud of lineage, and their descent from an illustrious name; it was doubtless this cherished feeling which conferred on them much of that nobility of soul, and grandeur of character, to which we turn in the present day with sensations of astonishment and fascination.

It was a natural feeling among the Romans, struck with admiration at the sublime and elegant productions of the epic muse of Greece, to copy her lessons; consequently, when Virgil applied himself to compose a poem which should celebrate the fame of his imperial master, and emulate the productions of the Greeks in a department of poetry in which they had as yet stood unrivalled, that he should in the first instance bend a reverential eye on Homer; and although, he differed greatly from his Grecian master in his qualities of mind and genius, he nevertheless became his devoted disciple. We have seen that the Latin dramatists, in adapting their pieces for the stage, frequently compounded them of the plots of two Greek plays formed into one; and by so doing compensated for the want of invention, and exactness of composition, by greater variety of incident. Following their example, Virgil comprehended in his plan the arguments both of the Iliad and Odyssey; the one, acting as his guide in the wanderings and adventures of his hero; the other, as his model for the wars which he sustained in Italy to gain his destined bride Lavinia. Although the two great poems of Homer were the chief objects of Virgil's

imitation, there were other Greek epics which also afforded him materials for his own splendid structure. There were two Greek works, now lost, belonging to the Cyclic class of poems, by Aretinus, a Milesian, and Lesches, a native of Lesbos, who flourished a considerable time after Homer; also the dramatic writers, and Apollonius Rhodius. Of the works of Ennius, Virgil has not only imitated long passages, but has also copied whole lines.¹ While doing so, however, he has not omitted fully to avail himself of the current traditions of his country; and it must have been delightful for a Roman to read of the origin of Tibur, Tusculum, Præneste, &c., with the ancient appearance of the hills then covered by the palaces of their emperor, patricians, and knights.

In the first book of the *Æneid*, our poet has followed the *Odyssey* for the storm which disperses the Trojan fleet, and the arrival of his hero at the court of Carthage. In the second, he has had recourse to sources more obscure. The first book contains an account of *Æneas* and the Trojans setting sail for Italy, from the island of Sicily; they are overtaken by a dreadful storm, and cast on the coast of Africa, near Carthage; the chief pays his respects to Dido, the queen, who conceives a passion for him, and desires the history of his adventures, the detail of which forms the subject of the two next books. The fourth and fifth appear to have been imitated from the stories of Calypso in the *Odyssey*, and that of Medea in the *Argonautics* of Apollonius Rhodius. Over these imitations Virgil has thrown an air of originality, by his allusions to his own times and country, always introduced with propriety, and conducted with judgment. The contents of these two books are, the discovery of Dido to her sister of her love for *Æneas*, the departure from Carthage of that hero, and the consequent death of the queen in a fit of

¹ This is clearly shown in a close comparison by Macrobius, in his "*Saturnalia*."

despair. Æneas, on his voyage from Africa, is driven by a storm again on the coast of Sicily, where he is hospitably received. He celebrates the memory of his father with divine honours, institutes funeral games, and appoints prizes for those who shall conquer in them. He sails for Italy, and loses his pilot Palinurus. The sixth book is the most original of the poem, and would be particularly interesting to the ancients, brought up in superstitious reverence of the dark fables it records. The Sibyl, at Cuma, where Æneas lands, here foretels him the adventures he should meet with in Italy: attends him to the infernal regions, describes to him the various scenes of that place, and conducts him to his father Anchises, who instructs him in those sublime mysteries regarding the soul of the world, and the transmigration, besides showing him that noble race which was to descend from him. This must have been highly gratifying to the Romans, as exhibiting to view their own glorious line, and its most illustrious heroes. This book is partly imitated from the eleventh of the *Odyssey*, and from *Hesiod*; Virgil has greatly embellished the descent of Æneas, by throwing over it the mystic veil of Platonic philosophy, and introducing the most illustrious characters and important events of Roman history; this part has usually been considered the most exquisite specimen of the art and talent of the poet.¹ In the seventh, and all the following books, the last of which, the twelfth, closes with the death of Turnus, concluding the poem; the Homeric battles are constantly kept in view. The council of the gods, description of the shield of Æneas, review of the army, episode of Nisus, and Euryalus, are all formed on the model of the *Iliad*. The myths of the concluding book, are principally those of

¹ Virgil's poetical scenes on the other side of the grave, are not, calculated to inspire emotions of supernatural terror; they have been considered in this respect inferior to those of Dante, and exceeded by Shakspeare in his *Hamlet*.

the Ausonians and Aborigines, who occupied Italy when Æneas landed with his followers near the mouth of the Tiber.

The first lines of the Æneid have a degree of dignity and beauty not often to be found even in the poetry of Virgil, and were well-calculated to conciliate his countrymen.

Arms, and the man I sing, the first who bore
His course to Latium from the Trojan shore
By fate expell'd, on land and ocean tost,
Before he reach'd the fair Lavinian coast;
Doom'd by the gods a length of wars to wage,
And urg'd by Juno's unrelenting rage;
Ere the brave hero rais'd, in these abodes,
His destin'd walls, and fix'd his wand'ring gods.
Hence the fam'd Latian line, and senates come,
And the proud triumphs, and the tow'rs of Rome.

The destruction of an ancient populous city, with those scenes of devastation, sorrow, and misery that must attend it, is one of the most striking though melancholy objects in the world. The poet has accordingly chosen it for the commencement of his second book, as the most proper to move the emotions of pity and terror, and he has succeeded. The versification is extremely beautiful, and he recited it to the emperor to give him an idea of the rest of his poem.

All gaz'd in silence, with an eager look;
Then from the golden couch the hero spoke.
Ah, mighty queen! you urge me to disclose,
And feel, once more, unutterable woes;
How, vengeful Greece with victory was crown'd
And Troy's fair empire humbl'd to the ground.
The Grecian kings, for many a rolling year,
Repell'd by fate, and harass'd by the war;
By Pallas' aid, of season'd fir compos'd

A steed, that tow'ring like a mountain rose:
 This they pretend their common vow, to gain
 A safe return, and measure back the main;
 Such the report; but guileful Argos hides
 Her bravest heroes in the monster's sides;
 Deep, deep within, they throng'd the dreadful gloom,
 And half a host lay ambush'd in the womb.
 An isle, in ancient times renown'd by fame,
 Lies full in view, and Tenedos the name;
 Once blest with wealth, while Priam held the sway,
 But now a broken, rough, and dang'rous bay;
 Hither their unsuspected course they bore,
 And hid their hosts within the winding shore.

* *

The poet sums up the treachery and baseness of Simon, who pretended to be a deserter from the Greeks, and whose moving tale of apparent candour and distress misled the Trojans. So,

Thus did the perjur'd Simon's art prevail;
 Too fondly we believ'd the study'd tale;
 And thus was Troy, who bravely could sustain
 Achilles' fury when he swept the plain,
 A thousand vessels and a ten year's war,
 Won by a sigh, and vanquish'd by a tear.

Again:

What tongue the dreadful slaughter could disclose?
 Or oh! what tears could answer half our woes?
 The glorious empress of the nations round,
 Majestic Troy, lay levell'd with the ground;
 Her murder'd natives crowded her abodes,
 Her streets, her domes, the temples of her gods.
 Nor Ilion bled alone; her time succeeds;
 And then she conquers, and proud Argos bleeds,
 Death in a thousand forms destructive frown'd,
 And woe, despair, and horror, rag'd around.

There is a beautiful specimen of the pathetic in the fourth book, when Dido discovers the intention of Æneas to quit Carthage and desert her, after she had lavished on him wealth, hospitality, and every kindness, with the addition of her heart and hand. The queen first addresses him in a spirit of anger, but soon softens her tone, and falls into a strain of tender expostulation.

And could'st thou hope, dissembler, from my sight?
Ah! wretch perfidious! to conceal thy flight?
In such base silence from my realms to sail?
Nor can our vows and plighted hands prevail,
Nor Dido's cruel death thy flight detain?
For death, death only can relieve my pain.
And are thy vessels launch'd, while winter sweeps
With the rough northern blast the roaring deeps.
Barbarian! say, if Troy herself had stood,
Nor foreign realms had call'd thee o'er the flood,
Would'st thou thy sails in stormy seas employ,
And brave the surge to gain thy native Troy?
Me wilt thou fly, to tempt the dang'rous wave?
Ah! by the tears I shed, the hand you gave;
For these still mine, and only these remain
The tears I shed, the hand you gave in vain!
If pray'rs can move thee, with this pray'r comply,
Regard, Æneas, with a pitying eye
A falling race, and lay thy purpose by.
For thee Numidian kings in arms conspire;
For thee have I incens'd the sons of Tyre;
For thee I lost my honour and my fame,
That to the stars advanc'd my glorious name.
Must I in death, thy cruel scorn deplore,
My barbarous guest! but ah! my spouse no more!
What shall I wait, till fierce Pygmalion pours
From Tyre on Carthage, and destroys my tow'rs;
Shall I in proud Iarbas' chains be led

A slave, a captive to the tyrant's bed?
If in my regal hall I could survey
Some princely boy, some young Æneas play;
Thy dear resemblance but in looks alone!
I should not seem quite widow'd and undone.

Virgil was particularly affected by the charms of friendship, and has employed his art to illustrate it in the persons of Euryalus and Nisus, whom he apparently introduces for the purpose in two of his best episodes. It is impossible to read without admiration the following lines, at the end of the second episode in the ninth book, relating to these two friends.

Hail, happy pair! if fame our verse can give,
From age to age your memory shall live;
Long as the imperial capitol shall stand,
Or Rome's majestic lord the conquer'd world command!

Virgil was evidently no friend to Cicero; he does not even mention him in his view of the most illustrious Romans in books sixth and eighth; he introduces him, however, under the name of Drances, in the eleventh, as a vindictive opponent to Turnus (Antony). In the poet's description of the orator, he exhibits to our view the general opinion entertained of him by the friends of Augustus.

Then Drances rose, a proud distinguish'd name,
With envy fir'd at Turnus' spreading fame.
His mother's blood illustrious splendours grace,
By birth as gen'rous, as his sire was base.
Potent and rich, in factious counsels skill'd,
Bold at the board, a coward in the field;
Loud he harangu'd the court, and as he rose,
These vile reproaches on the warrior throws.
What you propose, great monarch, is so plain
To all the senate, that replies are vain.
But none dares speak; though all can understand

The sole expedient our affairs demand.
 Let him, by whose unhappy conduct led,
 For whose curs'd cause so many chiefs have bled,
 So many princes of our land lie low
 Till our whole city wears one face of woe,
 Him, who pretends to storm a host, but flies,
 While the proud boastful coward braves the skies;
 Let Turnus (for I must, I will pursue
 The public good, though death is in my view,)¹
 Grant that high favour to this rev'rend train,
 At least of these our suff'rings to complain;
 O king! to those rich gifts design'd before
 For the great Trojan add one present more;
 One that your duteous senate must request,
 And one he values more than all the rest;
 By fear or violence no longer sway'd,
 Give to so brave a prince th' imperial maid;
 By that sure pledge a lasting peace obtain;
 Or know, the peace without the pledge, is vain.
 But should our king so bold a step disclaim,
 Aw'd by the terrors of his rival's name;
 To dreadful Turnus we prefer our pray'r
 For his permission to bestow the fair,
 And to our prince and country to restore
 Their rights, and bluster on the throne no more.

*

*

The answering speech of Turnus places Cicero in an equally unamiable light. He replies,

Drances, thy tongue a stream of words can yield;
 Then, when our hands are wanted in the field,
 First in debate! but true, 'tis safer far
 With words to flourish, than to wage the war;
 To deal in long harangues, while walls enclose

¹ Death is in my view. This is evidently taken from the conclusion of Cicero's second philippic against Antony.

Thee and thy fears ; and guard thee from the foes.
 Remov'd from danger, you can talk aloud,
 And mouth and bellow to the list'ning crowd.
 Proceed then, dastard, in thy wonted strain ;
 Throw forth a storm of eloquence again,
 With all thy malice, all thy art, declaim,
 And brand with cowardice my injur'd fame !
 Since the full triumphs of the day are thine,
 And thy own trophies stand as high as mine !
 Try, try, this hour, thy courage ; see ! the foes
 Advance, approach us, and our walls enclose.
 Lo ! in the battle all the troops are join'd !
 Why halts the fiery Drances yet behind ?
 Shall all thy valour, wretch ! consist so long
 In those swift feet, and in that swifter tongue ?

*

*

In the appeal which Turnus makes to Æneas, Virgil
 has copied the supplication of Priam to Achilles for the
 body of Hector.

Prince, I deserve, nor deprecate my death :
 Then, use thy fortune, take my forfeit breath !
 Yet, if a parent's woes thy soul incline,
 Think what thy father was ; then pity mine !
 Think at thy feet the hoary monarch thrown,
 Grov'ling, and pleading for an only son !
 Then save the son ! in him the father save !
 Nor bow his age with sorrow to the grave !
 Or, oh ! at least this mercy I implore,
 My breathless relics to my friends restore.
 Thine is the conquest ; lo ! the Latian bands
 Behold their gen'ral stretch his suppliant hands !
 Restrain thy farther vengeance ; I resign
 My former claim ; the royal fair is thine.

Æneas, touched with compassion, is inclined to spare his
 fallen foe, till observing the belt of his dear friend Pallas

worn as a trophy by Turnus, he exclaims in a transport of rage—

'Tis Pallas, Pallas gives the fatal blow.
Thus is his death aton'd—the hero said,
And bury'd in his breast the furious blade.¹

Virgil is allowed the same rank among Roman poets, as Homer among the Greek; the difference, however, between originality and imitation has rarely been more strongly marked than in the Grecian and Latin bards. In the former, everything is magnificent; in the latter, everything is polished. Homer excels Virgil in the sublime, but the latter surpasses the former in the tender and elegant; the transcendant merits of the Greek are sullied by occasional defects, the Roman is the model of a correct taste. The characters of Virgil have few distinguishing features, and those not always well supported; Æneas is brave, pious, but frequently uninteresting. Many of his scenes, where men alone are concerned, are pathetic, but his battles have neither the conflict nor the terror of Homer's. His invention and vivacity are inferior, but his correctness and stateliness are much superior. Virgil has scarcely ever injured the dignity of epic poetry by introducing sentiments which are in any way coarse or vulgar; he is uniformly majestic. There is no poem in any language which approaches the excellence of the style and versification of the *Æneid*, and no writer ever lived who knew better than Virgil how to adorn his poetical creations with characters appropriate to their surpassing beauty. He has invariably held to the

¹ This line calls to our remembrance the fate of the French General Duhesme, who in the retreat after the victory of Waterloo, was overtaken in the pursuit, at a village not many miles from the field of battle. As he was standing at the door of an inn, a soldier of the Brunswick Horse seized him; the general begged his life, but the trooper merely replied, "The Duke of Brunswick died yesterday," and plunged his sword into his breast.

happy medium between the severe simplicity of the most ancient Greek poetry, and the luxuriance of the more modern school of Alexandria. Hume expresses the following opinion: "Of all the great poets, Virgil and Racine lie nearest the centre, and are the farthest removed from the extremes of refinement and simplicity in writing." Consequently we find, that those modern writers, distinguished for correctness of judgment and purity of taste, whether belonging to the classical or romantic school, have closely followed the footsteps of Virgil; the author of *Telemachus*, Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, Camoens, Voltaire, Milton, Spenser, &c., are all indebted to the *Æneid*. The poetical soul of the great Latin poet, undisturbed by excess of passion, and never carried away by a current of ideas, but calmly consigning to immortal verse the scenes which his fancy painted as beautiful, and his understanding subsequently approved, is elegantly and correctly portrayed by Pope in his "Temple of Fame."

A golden column next in sight appear'd,
 On which a shrine of purest gold was rear'd;
 Finish'd the whole, and labour'd ev'ry part,
 With patient touches of unweary'd art:
 The Mantuan there in sober triumph sat,
 Compos'd his posture and his look sedate.
 On Homer still he fix'd a rev'rend eye;
 Great without pride, in modest majesty.
 In living sculpture on the sides were spread
 The Latin wars, and haughty Turnus dead;
 Eliza stretch'd upon the fun'ral pyre,
 Æneas bending with his aged sire:
 Troy flam'd in burning gold, and o'er the throne
 "Arms and the Man" in golden cyphers shone.

Contemporary with Virgil, nearly equal to him in celebrity, and not much inferior in excellence, was

Horace, who flourished 34 B.C.

This celebrated individual, the great master of lyric poetry among the Romans, was born A. U. C. 689, at Venusia, or Venusium, now Venosa, a town on the borders of the ancient Apulia and Lucania, the modern district of Basilicata, in Calabria. His father was a freedman,¹ who had acquired sufficient wealth to purchase a small farm on the bank of the Aufidus, and close to Venusium. When the poet was about ten years of age, his father sold the farm, and went to Rome, where he was appointed a collector of taxes. Horace was now placed under the care of Orbilius Pupillus, a grammarian of high reputation, with whom, he informs us in his epistles, that he redde in Latin the works of Livius Andronicus, and in Greek the Iliad of Homer. He was also taught to make verses, although, by his own account, his father was his best instructor, by keeping a watchful eye over his morals, and inculcating the value of reputation. In the sixth satire, book first, he tells us—

Himself my guardian, of unblemish'd truth,
 Among my tutors would attend my youth,
 And thus preserv'd my purity of mind,
 That best of virtues, in its highest kind;
 Not only pure from guilt, but even shame,
 That might with bad suspicion hurt my fame.

It appears that Horace received an education superior to his birth and fortune, and that no expense was spared by his affectionate parent on the cultivation of his mind. After he had assumed the Toga virilis, he completed his course of instruction at Athens, where he studied philosophy along with Marcus, the son of Cicero, Varus, and the young Messala. He was there at the time of the assassination of Julius Cæsar; and Brutus and Cassius having shortly after-

¹ Freedman, "libertinus," that is, one who had been a slave, but was emancipated; and therefore the poet was born free, or, according to the term then used, "Ingenuus."

wards arrived in Greece, on visiting Athens, Horace, with many of the young Romans who were then studying, joined the republican party. The poet continued nearly two years under the command of Brutus, and went with him into Macedonia, where he was promoted to the rank of a military tribune. He was present at the fatal battle of Philippi, and seems sadly to have mistaken his genius in becoming a soldier; he, however, frankly confesses his cowardice in the seventh ode of the second book, imitated from Archilochus, where he says, in his address to Varus,—

With thee I saw Philippi's plain,
Its fatal rout, a fearful scene!
And dropp'd, alas! th' inglorious shield,
Where valour's self was forc'd to yield;
Where soil'd in dust the vanquish'd lay,
And breath'd th' indignant soul away.

After his flight, he had the good fortune not to be discovered by the pursuing parties of the enemy, and an amnesty being soon published for those who laid down their arms, he wisely took occasion to quit the military service.

About the year 714 he returned to the capital; his father had died during his absence, and he was reduced to poverty, which, as he confesses, obliged him to write verses. His chief resource being now in the generosity of his friends, he endeavoured to conciliate their favour by his wit, and a few little poems which he occasionally produced. In 716, however, when he had reached the age of twenty-seven, he was recommended to Mæcenas, in the first instance by Virgil, and subsequently by Varus; in a little time afterwards he had the honour of being personally presented to that splendid patron of literary men, although he felt so overawed that he spoke little, and with hesitation. To the poet's statement of his situation and circumstances, the minister returned a brief answer, and permitted him to retire after a short and unsatisfactory interview. He took

no farther notice of him for the space of nine months, and Horace did not stoop to any servility during the interval to obtain his patronage; but at the end of that period, Mæcenas sent for him, and in a little time admitted him among the number of his chosen friends. Horace, besides being a poet, was also a man of the world, of delightful conversation, and agreeable temper; a proper companion for patricians and statesmen. He now attended the minister in most of his expeditions, whether for business or pleasure, enlivening the journey by entertaining conversation. He attended him to Brundisium, when he proceeded there with C. Nerva and Capito, in order to effect a reconciliation between Antony and Octavius, and some of the ludicrous circumstances of that journey subsequently furnished the subject of one of his satires. He likewise embarked with Mæcenas in a fleet which he commanded during the naval war against Sextus Pompey, when a number of the vessels being wrecked, the poet was nearly drowned in the gulf of Velia, close to the promontory of Palinurus. In defiance of this mishap, Horace again offered to sail with Mæcenas; but the latter prudently objected, whether from the conviction that the former was not likely to be of any great use, or lest the fatigues of the voyage and the war should impair the poet's health, cannot now be determined.

The all-powerful minister of the emperor did not, however, content himself with being the mere patron of Horace. Mæcenas bestowed on him a villa at Tibur, obtained for him a grant of land in the eastern part of the Sabine territory, and presented him with a strong recommendation to Augustus, who, sufficiently inclined to bestow kindness on literary men, offered him the situation of one of his private secretaries. The appointment was declined, as it would remove the poet from the table of Mæcenas, at which he generally sat, to that of the emperor; but so far was the refusal from offending Augustus, that he continued to treat Horace with distinction and familiarity. He encouraged

him to continue his poetical labours, to collect the odes which he had already written, and address an epistle to himself; and when the emperor at length received the present of his book, he accepted it with the utmost kindness, good-humouredly comparing the size of the little volume to the short and rounded figure of the poet himself. With the protection of Augustus; Mecænas and Virgil for his friends; happy in a tranquil satisfied mind, and a handsome independence, with a neat house in Rome, and an elegant villa at Tibur; occupied in the composition of works which procured for him the admiration and esteem of his contemporaries, and which he foresaw would insure him immortality; Horace attained the greatest felicity which his age and country were capable of affording. The poet, although warm in his temper, was kind-hearted, amiable, and considerate; entirely free from malignant and envious feelings, he never wantonly caused pain or annoyance to any one. The manner in which he usually spent his time is explained in his works; while in Rome, one part of the day was engaged in composition, and the remainder in pleasant lounging, exercise, or amusement; but when he returned to the country, he passed it in delightful rural occupations. In this happy position in life, the poet lived till the age of fifty-seven, and died on the 27th of November, A.U.C. 746, about nine years before the Christian era. He expired somewhat suddenly at Rome; being unable in his last moments to sign his will, he nominated Augustus his heir. His life terminated about the same period with that of Mecænas, and his remains were deposited near the tomb of the latter on the Esquiline hill. If the poet had foreseen the time of his patron's death and his own, he could scarcely have spoken of them with more correctness than he does in the seventeenth ode of the second book:

Ah! te meæ si partem animæ rapit, &c.

“Should you, alas! be snatch'd away,
Wherefore, ah! wherefore should I stay;

My value lost, no longer whole,
 And but possessing half a soul?
 One day believe the sacred oath,
 Shall lead the fun'ral pomp of both;
 Cheerful to Pluto's dark abode,
 With thee I'll tread the dreary road."

As Horace looked forward with certainty to immortal fame from his works, it is believed that his funeral was not attended with any pomp, according to his own wishes, expressed in the twentieth ode of the second book.

Absint inani funere nœniæ
 Luctusque turpes; et querimoniæ
 Compesce clamorem, ac sepulcri
 Mitte supervacuos honores.

"Forbear then o'er my empty urn,
 With unbecoming grief to mourn;
 The dirge, and funeral honours spare;
 Nor shed for me the needless tear."

The works of this poet have been divided into Odes, Epodes,¹ Satires, and Epistles.² In the early ages of Greece, the lyric muse was particularly appointed to sing the praises of the gods at their festivals, or celebrate the actions of their heroes at the public games; where the

¹ The word Ode was not introduced into the Latin tongue until the third or fourth century, and was then first used to signify any piece of lyric poetry. The term Epode is certainly not a correct one; the Greeks used it to signify the third and last part of an Ode divided into Strophe, Anti-Strophe, and Epode; but the Latins had no odes of such form, and consequently no right to the name; it was an invention of the third century.

² The works of Horace, all in verse, are arranged in four books of odes, one of epodes, two of satires, two of epistles, and the Art of Poetry, or the third epistle of the second book of that description.

noblest precepts of philosophy were enlivened by music, and animated by the language of poetry. When we consider its origin and institution, it becomes evident that nothing would be permitted to enter its composition but what was chaste and correct, while employed in supporting the sacred precepts of religion, and encouraging the practice of moral virtue. Although such were the original attributes of this muse, she soon descended from her primeval grandeur; and mixing with a people of the liveliest sensibility, addicted to pleasure and enjoyment, she condescended to employ her powers in descriptions of the passion of love, banquets, wine, and dancing. Nevertheless this alteration, although it lessened the natural dignity of the lyric verse, gave to it that pleasing variety to which no other kind of poetry can pretend. The style of versification became naturally adapted to the theme which was sung; a variety of subjects being agreeably maintained by a variety of numbers, led to that free unbounded spirit which forms the peculiar character of lyric poetry. This description of poetical composition, believed to have been the first in Greece, also made its appearance at a very early age among the Romans, derived from the coarse and homely Sabines. It continued, however, in almost its first state of rudeness until the Augustan age, when Horace improved by the careful study and imitation of the Grecian poets, carried it at once to perfection, and in the opinion of Quintilian, is one of the very few Roman lyric poets worthy of being studied. It appears to be generally agreed, that in this department Horace has little claim to the merit of originality; even in those odes which, so far as we know, are neither translated nor imitated from the bards of Greece; still the sentiments are Greek, and of one whose mind was deeply imbued, not only with the compositions of Sappho, Alcæus, Anacreon, and Pindar, the parties from whom he is considered chiefly to have copied, but also with the works of Homer and the great dramatic authors.

It has been asserted that more than a hundred of the fragments which remain to us from the poets of ancient Greece, may be found in the epithets of Horace; hence it is not unreasonable to conclude, that few of his sentiments are purely original. Some of his odes are actually translations, such as the Palinode from Stesichorus; the Bacchanalian ode to Varus, from Alcæus; and the stanzas to Chloe from Anacreon. Those odes on the topics of love and wine, which occur in the first and second books, may be looked upon as translations. Others are parodies from the Greek, as the ode on the voyage of Virgil, and that to Thaliarchus applying the descriptions of Alcæus to the scenery of Italy. The odes which appear to be the invention of the Latin poet, are principally of that sort termed occasional. The good nature of Horace induced him willingly to employ his muse in the celebration of a festive day, to lament the departure of a friend, or congratulate him on his return, also to record any political event which might reflect honour on his patrons. Being of such a miscellaneous description, his odes cannot be classed, but the majority of them have been reduced under four divisions; amatory, convivial, moral, and political. The amatory are by far the most numerous; in them he celebrates his love for various parties under fictitious names. The passion he sings is of a trivial kind. At one time politely complaining of a rival, at another renewing his addresses to a forsaken mistress. The convivial odes consist of invitations to Mæcenas and other illustrious friends to join his social board. The moral class are of the same description, but tempered with reflections reminding his associates of the shortness of life, and the certainty of death. They are adapted to the tempers and manners of his acquaintances, cautioning against their besetting failings of extreme indulgence, avarice, and inordinate ambition, by exhibiting the evils arising from those passions, and the advantages of a different line of conduct. The political odes are those most worthy of

attention, as conveying a correct idea of the prominent events of Roman history, by affording an insight into the political discussions and intrigues of his day. They are of his own composition, instead of being translated or imitated; written in soothing and polite language, and breathe a spirit of wisdom and humanity; the mildest maxims of policy are inculcated amid bursts of poetical fancy. In several of these odes where the character of Antony is brought forward, Horace treats it like his predecessor, with respect and tenderness, all the indignation of the poet falling on Cleopatra; neither is the great Pompey, nor his son Sextus, long the chief enemy and rival of Augustus, ever mentioned with disrespect. Such forbearance places the character of Horace in a very amiable light, and shows, that though he felt grateful to the emperor for all his goodness, he would not extol him by disparaging the lives of worthy but unfortunate Romans. Many of his odes are in praise of the family of Cæsar; in a few of them, however, he has also celebrated the heroes of the republic, proving that he was possessed of sentiments of patriotism, and feelings of heroic greatness. His excellence is seldom more conspicuous than when he writes as a Roman, and dwells on the sublime magnanimity of ancient days, on the solitary grandeur of the exiled Regulus, or of those other illustrious men, who, to use his own words, “were prodigal of their great souls in the service of their country.” The epodes are looked upon as intermediate compositions between his odes and satires; they are in the Iambic measure, and some of them are on similar topics with the odes; others consist of invectives against the orator Cassius Severus, the poet Mævius, and Menas the freedman of Sextus Pompey, who being admiral of the fleet, became infamous during the civil wars, by alternately deserting the service of Pompey and Octavius. The satire in these epodes is violent and coarsely personal, and believed to be in imitation of what is supposed to have been the style of Archilochus and Lycambes; it is

certainly not that delicate tone of reproof and irony, subsequently adopted by this poet in what may be considered as his own mode of satire.

In the satires of Horace, we have to consider him as a humorous, or familiar writer; in this character he is more original and instructive than in his odes, although he chiefly valued himself upon the latter. It was at Rome that satire first received the rank of a separate and distinguished species of composition apart from the drama, and was there clothed in a less stately form than that employed in epic poetry. The variety of measures in the odes, and the kind of versification which Horace has employed in his satires, a loose prosaic poetry, with negligence of measure and number, lead us to the inference, that he was guided by judgment, not by necessity. His frequent use of proverbs and common phrases, his different manner of expressing the same sentiments in his odes and satires, will satisfy us, that he thought a satirist and a poet were different characters; that the language of poetry was as inappropriate to the morality of satire, as a familiar style to the majesty of the heroic poem, or as he himself expresses it, "the muse of satire walks on foot, while her sisters soar into the skies." Satire had remained in a great measure uncultivated among the Romans since the time of Lucilius,¹ who was the companion and friend of Scipio, the first Africanus; he was looked upon as the founder of it, and as the first great writer in that mode among the Romans: nevertheless, he imitated the authors of the Greek comedy, and severely satirized the political leaders of the state. Horace, however, neither lived, like the Greek comedians, in an unrestrained democracy, nor, like Lucilius,

¹ Of the thirty satires which he wrote, upwards of nine hundred scattered verses remain. He died at Naples, in the 46th year of his age, B.C. 103, and was magnificently buried at the public expence.

under an aristocracy in which there was a struggle for power, rendering it necessary to pay occasional court to the people. Such satires as those of Lucilius against the leaders of the state were now precluded by the unity of power; if he arraigned in his verses the heads of one faction, he was supported by those of another; but in the days of Horace the individuals possessing authority were those in the confidence of the emperor, and none could protect a satirist in the Augustan age from the resentment of Mæcenas or Agrippa.

The rise and influence of such men as Mæcenas, who united power and wealth with an elegant taste in literature and a love of splendour, introduced what in modern times is called fashion; the same features being exhibited then which are so conspicuous in the present day, those of aping and foolish pretension, such individuals were imitated in their villas and entertainments by those who had no reasonable pretensions, or who vied with them ungracefully and with vulgarity. The wealthy freedmen and provincial magistrates, not only rendered themselves ridiculous by this species of rivalry, but also supplied endless topics for sportive satire and laughter. Mæcenas, and those within the pale of fashion, had not made that progress in true politeness, leading them either to shun the society of such pretenders, or to endure it without contributing to exposure; indeed Mæcenas actually carried his buffoons along with him, to add to the amusement which the absurdities of their hosts supplied; hence we have such entertaining pictures of the self-importance of one, the ridiculous dress of another, the bad cookery of a third, the affectation and folly of a fourth, &c. One of the chief talents of Horace's patrons, Augustus and Mæcenas, consisted in a correct discernment of the tempers and abilities of mankind; and the poet himself was likewise distinguished by his quick perception of character, and his intimate acquaintance, not only with

books, but with men. These qualifications, and the advantages derived from them, are apparent in most of his satires. The failings of his countrymen are described by Horace, however, with ease and good-nature; he re-proves without offending, and instructs without an affectation of superiority. He is less serious than Persius, without the vehemence and bitterness of Juvenal; less sharp than Pope and Boileau, without the peevish discontent of Ariosto, or the severity of Salvator Rosa. He has this advantage over rigid satirists, that we receive him into our hearts, as he reasons with good humour, and corrects in the language of friendship. Nor will his satires be less useful to the present age than to that in which they were written, since he draws his characters from human nature itself, which is the same in all ages and countries.

Horace wrote his epistles at a more advanced period of life than his satires; they were the last fruits of his experience and knowledge of the world, consequently we find in them matured judgment and philosophy, more of his own feelings, and greater perfection in the versification. It is evident that the poet perfectly understood character, as each epistle is written for the instruction or reformation of him to whom it was addressed; indeed their chief merit depends on the author changing his tone, and diversifying his colouring, according to the qualities of the party for whom they were intended. In his satires the poet meant to expose vice and folly, but in his epistles he thought of the amendment of a friend, on whose failings he touches with gentleness, and hints at their correction. In the art of poetry written by Horace, it would appear, that he did not intend to give a complete treatise on poetry, but only to touch upon the principal rules, more particularly on those relating to the drama; it was composed about A.U.C. 739, and is usually looked upon as a separate work, although it may be regarded as the third epistle of the second book,

since, like the others, it is chiefly critical, and addressed to the Pisos, a father and two sons, in an epistolary form. The critical works of this poet, comprising one of his satires, the two epistles of the second book, and the *Ars Poetica*, have generally been considered, particularly by critics, as the most valuable part of his productions. Rapin says, that Aristotle's art of poetry is nature itself put into method, and good sense reduced to principle; and Horace, who has laid down the most valuable opinions on the composition, fable, manners, and diction of a poem, is certainly deserving of equal praise. Hurd has pronounced this part of his works "the best and most exquisite of all his writings;" and in mentioning the "Art of Poetry" he says, "that the learned have long since considered it as a kind of summary of the rules of good writing, to be learned by heart by every young student; to whose decisive authority the greatest masters in taste and composition must finally submit." And Gifford, in the introduction to his translation of Juvenal, observes, that "as an ethical, or familiar writer, Horace has not many claims to the esteem of posterity, but as a critic he is entitled to our veneration. Such is the soundness of his judgment, the correctness of his taste, the extent and variety of his knowledge, that a body of criticism might be selected from his works, more perfect in its kind than any thing which antiquity has bequeathed to us."

Horace commences his first book of poems by an ode to Mecænas; there is nothing in it to ascertain the exact date at which it was written; it stands as a dedication of the poet's works to his patron. He also addresses to him the first of his epodes, satires, and epistles. He says,

O thou, whose birth illustrious springs
From fair Etruria's ancient kings,
Mecænas, to whose guardian name
I owe my fortune and my fame;

In clouds th' Olympic dust to roll,
To turn with kindling wheels the goal,
And gain the palm, victorious prize!
Exalts a mortal to the skies.

This man, to honours rais'd supreme,
By Rome's inconstant loud acclaim;
Another, if from Lybia's plain
He stores his private barn with grain;
A third, who with unceasing toil
Plows cheerful his paternal soil;
While in their several wishes blest,
Not all the wealth by kings possest,
Can tempt, with fearful souls, to brave
The terrors of the foamy wave.

When loud the winds and waters wage
Wild war with elemental rage,
The merchant praises the retreat,
The quiet of his rural seat;
Yet, want untutor'd to sustain,
Soon rigs his shatter'd bark again.

No mean delights possess his soul,
With good old wine who crowns his bowl;
Whose early revels are begun,
Ere half the course of day be run,
Now, by some sacred fountain laid,
Now, stretch'd beneath some bow'ring shade.

Others in tented fields rejoice,
The trumpet-sound, the clarion voice;
With joy the sounds of war they hear,
Of war, which tender mothers fear.

The sportsman, chill'd by midnight Jove,
Forgets his tender, wedded love,
Whether his faithful hounds pursue,
And hold the bounding hind in view;

Whether the boar, fierce-foaming, foils
The chace, and breaks the spreading toils.

An ivy wreath, fair learning's prize,
Raises Mecænas to the skies;
Be mine, amid the breezy grove,
In sacred solitude to rove;
To see the nymphs and satyrs bound,
Light-dancing, through the mazy round,
While all the tuneful sisters chime
Their various harmony divine.

But if you rank me with the choir,
Who tun'd with art the Grecian lyre,
Swift to the noblest heights of fame,
Shall raise thy poet's deathless name.

In the year of Rome 724, Tiridates was driven from the throne of Parthia, and afterwards visited the capital of Italy, to solicit succours from Augustus. *Ælius Lamia* was a Roman knight, and a person living in great splendour, of amiable manners, who had shown much kindness to the poet, who, addressing his muse in the following ode, mentions him with gratitude and respect.

While in the Muse's friendship blest,
Nor fears nor grief disturb my breast;
Bear them, ye vagrant winds, away,
And drown them in the Cretan sea.
Careless am I, or who shall reign
The tyrant of the frozen plain,
Or with what anxious fear opprest
Heaves Tiridates' panting breast.
Sweet Muse, who lov'st the virgin spring,
Hither thy sunny flow'rets bring,
And let thy richest chaplet shed
Its fragrance round my *Lamia's* head;
For nought avails the poet's praise,
Unless the Muse inspire his lays.

Now string the tuneful lyre again,
 Let all thy sisters raise the strain,
 And consecrate to deathless fame
 My lov'd, my Lamia's honour'd name.

The versification and images in the little ode to Venus are beautiful and harmonious; it was impossible to give the goddess a more gallant and modest retinue. It is believed that the poet wrote it about the forty-sixth year of his age.

Queen of beauty, queen of smiles,
 Leave, oh! leave thy favourite isles.
 Where Glycera invokes thy name,
 And bids the fragrant incense flame.

With thee bring thy love-warm son,
 The Graces bring with flowing zone,
 The nymphs, and jocund Mercury;
 And smiling youth, who without thee
 Is nought but savage liberty.

In the following ode to Apollo there is a fund of morality, showing us that reason and nature have few necessities, while avarice and ambition are ever finding out imaginary wants.

When at Apollo's hallow'd shrine
 The poet hails the Power divine,
 What is the blessing he implores,
 While he the first libation pours?

He nor desires the swelling grain
 That yellows o'er Sardinia's plain;
 Nor the fair herds that lowing feed
 On warm Calabria's flow'ry mead;
 Nor ivory of spotless shine,
 Nor gold forth-flaming from its mine;
 Nor the rich fields that Liris laves,
 And eats away with silent waves.

Let others quaff the racy wine,
 To whom kind fortune gives the vine;
 The golden goblet let him drain,
 Who venturous plows th' Atlantic main;
 Blest with three safe returns a year,
 For he to every god is dear.
 To me kind nature frankly yields
 The wholesome sallad from the fields;
 Nor ask I more than sense and health,
 Still to enjoy my present wealth.
 From age, and all its weakness free,
 O son of Jove, preserv'd by thee,
 Give me to strike the tuneful lyre,
 And thou my latest song inspire.

The death of Cleopatra put an end to the war between Octavius and Antony; Horace composed six odes upon the subject. The following extracts are from the last, but not the least beautiful. This unhappy queen was considered the most lovely and ambitious princess of her time; she died at the age of thirty-eight, having reigned seventeen years. With her fell the Egyptian monarchy, which had subsisted 294 years, under thirteen kings of the family of the Lagidean dynasty.

Now let the bowl with wine be crown'd,
 Now lighter dance the mazy round,
 And let the sacred couch be stor'd
 With the rich dainties of a Salian board.
 Sooner to draw the mellow'd wine,
 Prest from the rich Cæcubrian vine,
 Were impious mirth, while yet elate
 The queen breath'd ruin to the Roman state.
 Surrounded by a tainted train
 Of men effeminate, obscene,
 She rav'd of empire—nothing less,
 Vast in her hopes, and giddy with success.

Unmov'd she saw her state destroy'd,
 Her palace now a lonely void,
 Nor with her profligated host
 For succour fled to some far distant coast.

With fearless hand she dar'd to grasp
 The writhing of the wrathful asp,
 And suck the poison through her veins,
 Resolv'd on death, and fiercer from its pains.

Then scorning to be led the boast
 Of mighty Cæsar's mighty host,
 And arm'd with more than mortal spleen,
 Defrauds a triumph, and expires a queen.

It is difficult to imagine any thing more affectionately beautiful than the sentiments of the following ode to Augustus, in anxiety for his return to the capital; here the poet not only shows the love and veneration of the Romans for the emperor, but tells him why they adore him; and by this means he draws a charming picture of the happiness they enjoyed under his reign.

Propitious to the sons of earth,
 (Best guardian to the Roman state),
 The heav'nly powers beheld thy birth,
 And form'd thee glorious, good, and great;
 Rome and her holy fathers cry, thy stay
 Was promis'd short—ah! wherefore this delay?

Come then, auspicious Prince, and bring,
 To thy long gloomy country, light,
 For in thy countenance the spring
 Shines forth to cheer thy people's sight;
 Then hasten thy return, for, thou away,
 Nor lustre has the sun, nor joy the day.

Safe, by thy cares, her oxen graze,
 And yellow Ceres clothes her fields;

The sailor plows the peaceful seas,
 And earth her rich abundance yields,
 While nobly conscious of unsullied fame
 Fair honour dreads no wanton charge of blame.

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Safe in his vineyard toils the hind,
 Weds to the widow'd elm his vine
 Till the sun sets his hill behind,
 Then hastens joyful to his wine,
 And in his gayer hours of mirth implores,
 Thy godhead to protect and bless his stores.

To thee he chaunts the sacred song,
 To thee the rich libation pours ;
 Thee, plac'd his household gods among,
 With solemn daily prayers adores ;
 So Castor and great Hercules of old,
 Were with her gods by grateful Greece enroll'd.

Gracious and good, beneath thy reign
 May Rome her happy hours employ,
 And grateful hail thy just domain
 With pious hymns, and festal joy ;
 Thus, with the rising sun we sober pray,
 Thus in our wine beneath his setting ray.

The second book of the epistles of Horace begins with a letter to Augustus, who had written to the poet, good-humouredly reproaching him for not having addressed any part of his works to him: "Know," says the emperor, "that I am angry with you. Or are you apprehensive it will injure your reputation with posterity, that you have been one of my friends?" This communication brought forth the following epistle, much too long for insertion, but a few lines may be given. In it the poet makes a comparison between his own time, and that of the ancients; he endeavours to shew that novelty is the mother of the polite arts, especially of poetry; he treats of the theatre, and

the difficulty of succeeding there; and exhibits how much princes are interested in encouraging epic and lyric poets, who have it in their power to render them immortal by their verses; there is also much criticism upon the manner in which the Romans judged of their poets. This epistle was written A.U.C. 744, about two years before the death of the poet: he commences—

While you alone sustain th' important weight
Of Rome's affairs, so various and so great;
While you the public weal with arms defend;
Adorn with morals, and with laws amend,
Shall not the tedious letter prove a crime,
That steals one moment of our Cæsar's time?

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Yet Rome to thee her living honours pays;
By thee we swear, to thee our altars raise,
While we confess no prince so great, so wise,
Hath ever risen, or may ever rise.
But never, Sire, could your judicious taste,
By Virgil¹ or by Varius be disgrac'd,
For to your bounty they would grateful raise
A deathless monument of fame and praise.
Not form'd in brass, with more expression shines
The hero's face, than in the poet's lines
His life and manners: nor would Horace choose
These low and grov'ling numbers, could his muse
The rapid progress of your arms pursue;
Paint distant lands and rivers to the view,
Up the steep mountains with thy war ascend,
Storm the proud fort, and bid the nations bend;
Or bid fell wars destructive horrors cease,
And shut up Janus in eternal peace,
While Parthia bows beneath the Roman name,

¹ Virgil had been dead about eleven years when Horace wrote this epistle, and Varius nearly as long.

And yields her glories to our prince's fame.
But Cæsar's majesty would sure refuse
The feeble praises of my lowly muse;
Nor I, with conscious modesty, should dare
Attempt a subject I want strength to bear;
For sure a foolish fondness of the heart,
At least in rhyming, and the muse's art,
Hurts whom it loves; for quickly we discern,
With ease remember, and with pleasure learn,
Whate'er may ridicule and laughter move,
Not what deserves our best esteem and love.

The talents of Horace were excellent, whether we consider him, in the light of a lyric poet, a satirist, or a critic. In his odes there is more variety than in those of either Anacreon or Pindar; and he can alternately display the sublimity of the one, and the merry humour of the other. The lyre of Greece was tuned by the liveliest sensibility, the warmest imagination, and inspired by nature herself; it was reserved, however, for Horace, to make it resound with the accents of good sense and philosophy. Commentators in all countries have praised his delicacy of thought and expression, the accuracy of his descriptions, the beauty of his delineations, and the harmony of his versification. Such commendations convince us that style is genius, and correctly numbered among the fountains of the sublime. His odes have in every age been the constant object of imitation, but all copies present only a dim image of the exquisite originals. He has been reproached with the fault of want of order and connection, but some allowance should be made for the desultory privileges of the lyric muse. In his satires and epistles, Horace inculcates cheerfulness in prosperity, patience under adversity, indifference to wealth, moderation in pleasure, dignity and resolution in life's closing scene. Though a satirist of no common stamp, he possessed a degree of amiable feeling, joined to candour

and equity, which rendered him indulgent to the frailties of our nature. As a critic his rules were taken chiefly from Aristotle; they contain the elements of a cultivated mind and just taste, consequently do not admit of variation. Regarding his moral character, it is true, that he frequently writes as if he were a votary of pleasure; but we may easily collect from many of his odes and epistles, that he was neither insensible to the beauties of a severe philosophy, nor indifferent to the charms of virtue.

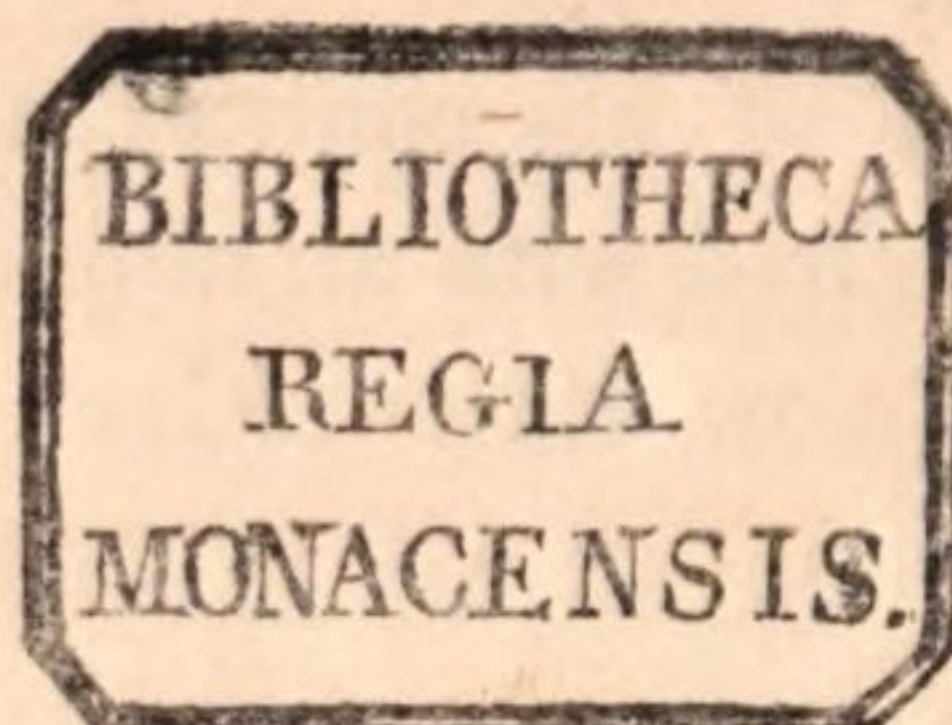
Before closing this chapter, it becomes an act of justice to offer a few remarks as an eulogium on the noble conduct of the emperor Augustus towards the great literary men of his age. When we behold this illustrious and talented sovereign appointing apartments in his own palace for Livy the historian, bestowing upon him every personal attention, ready to anticipate his utmost wishes, and even condescending to discuss with him the outlines of his history; when we observe the same munificent patronage afforded to Virgil, and find him exhibiting an equally beneficent interest in the welfare of Horace, it appears hardly possible to praise him too highly. When we remember that Augustus was not the monarch of a small kingdom in Europe, or petty state, but the mighty emperor of the civilized world, in whose dominions the sun never set; that this was the character who took a delight in encouraging learning and literary talent; and gave an example, so splendidly followed by the eminent Mecænas, and other noblemen of his court; such conduct is worthy not only of our reverence, but should induce the moderns to imitate a pattern so excellent. Empty civility, and pretended sympathy, without a kind or generous feeling, however common in our day, were beneath the dignity of the Roman character. Augustus, Mecænas, Varus, Pollio, Manlius Torquatus, Caius Memmius, and a long list besides, were truly noble, and substantially great. Well may we contemplate their

splendid qualities, well may we feel proud that such men have lived to adorn humanity. The emperor was not afraid that his encouragement to literature, and inculcating a taste for science and the arts among his people, would make them either enemies to religion or good government; such fears, however, have prevailed in the petty littleness of our own times, but there was no place for them in the breast of the glorious Roman; and it is not to be wondered at, a weeping nation exclaiming at his funeral, in the agony of their grief and despair as the Romans did, "that it had been well for them if he had never died." When we compare ancient and modern times; and behold, almost in our own day, the immortal Burns sinking into a premature grave, the unfortunate victim of poverty, degradation, and misery, the contrast is indeed striking; when we hear him told by the mean and vulgar-minded men, whom fortune in her malignity, or her folly had placed in office over him, 'that he had no right to think,' can we feel surprise that he died broken-hearted ere he had reached the prime of life? Had he been fortunate enough to live in the reign of Augustus,¹ this Theocritus of his country, would in all probability have been favoured with an ample share of honour and wealth. We may now ask ourselves, Is it likely that such an age as the Augustan will ever again dawn on the world? Let us hope so.

Since the publication of the First Volume of this Work, the Author has been more than once solicited for his opinion of what constitutes a philosopher; and perhaps he cannot close the Second, in a more eligible manner than by offering his definition. Such a character he understands to imply,

¹ When Mr. Watt waited on George the Third to communicate his invaluable and scientific discoveries on steam, the monarch put the question to him, "What do you sell, Mr. Watt?" To which the latter replied, with equal wit and spirit, "Please your Majesty, what kings are so fond of, power."

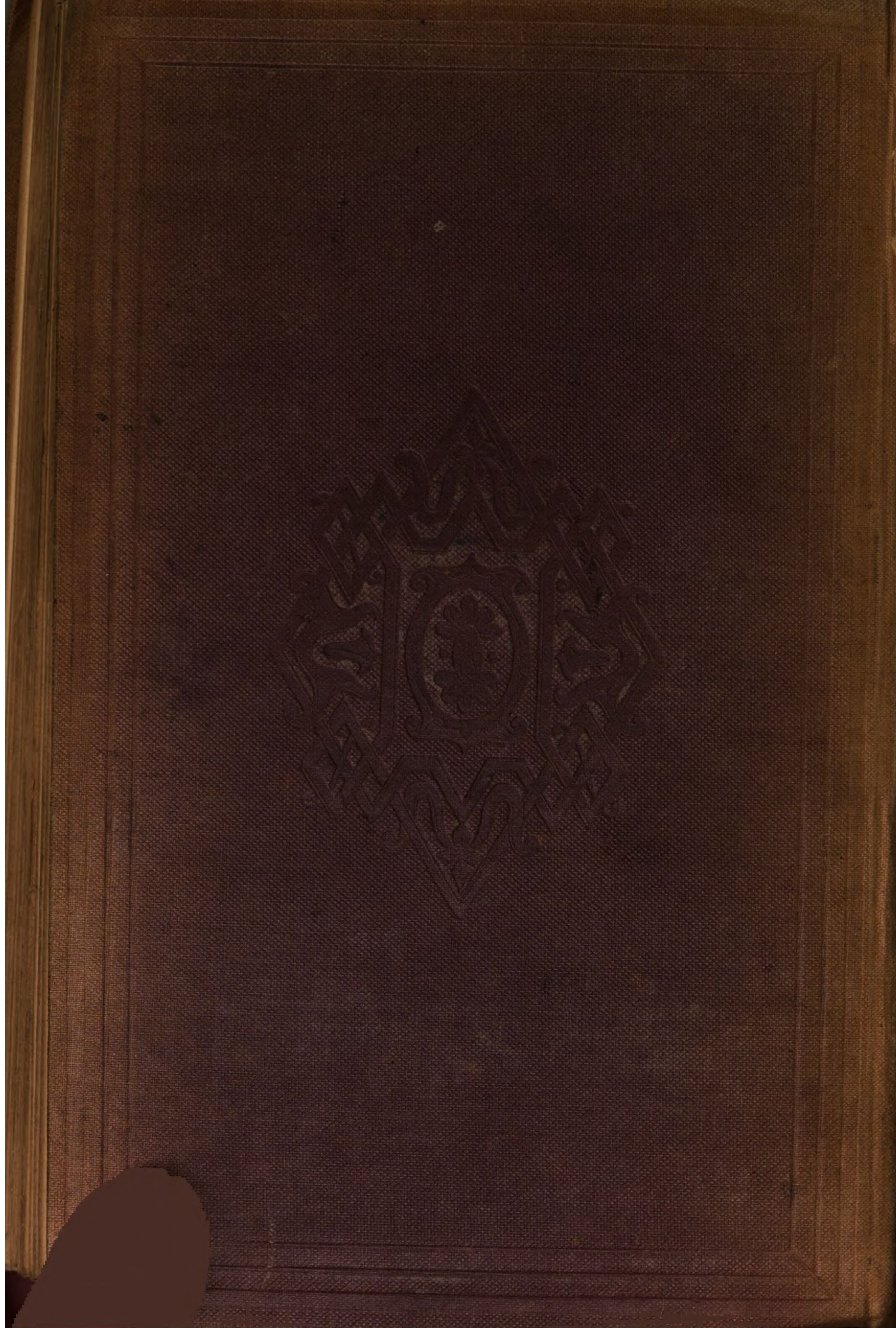
a man whose religion is free from intolerance and superstition; whose charity breathes goodwill to all; whose hopes, aspirations, wishes, and desires are concentrated in behalf of the best interests of mankind. Such an individual has cast from him the bonds of illiterate credulity, and has learned to observe, think, and judge for himself. He has become aware, that the great evils which afflict humanity are ignorance and poverty; the former, by fettering the mental faculties; the latter, by paralyzing the physical powers; that education is the remedy for the one, and judicious industry for the other, while he never loses sight of the sacred duty of benevolence and kindness to the poor. Such a man stands above the world in the intelligence and nobleness of his mind; and when the end of his career approaches, he may put his hand with complacency into that of the King of Terrors, and depart with the sublime reflection, that the purpose of his creation has not been a failure, for so far as he is concerned, a glorious being has indeed lived and walked on earth.



THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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